

IN THESE TIMES

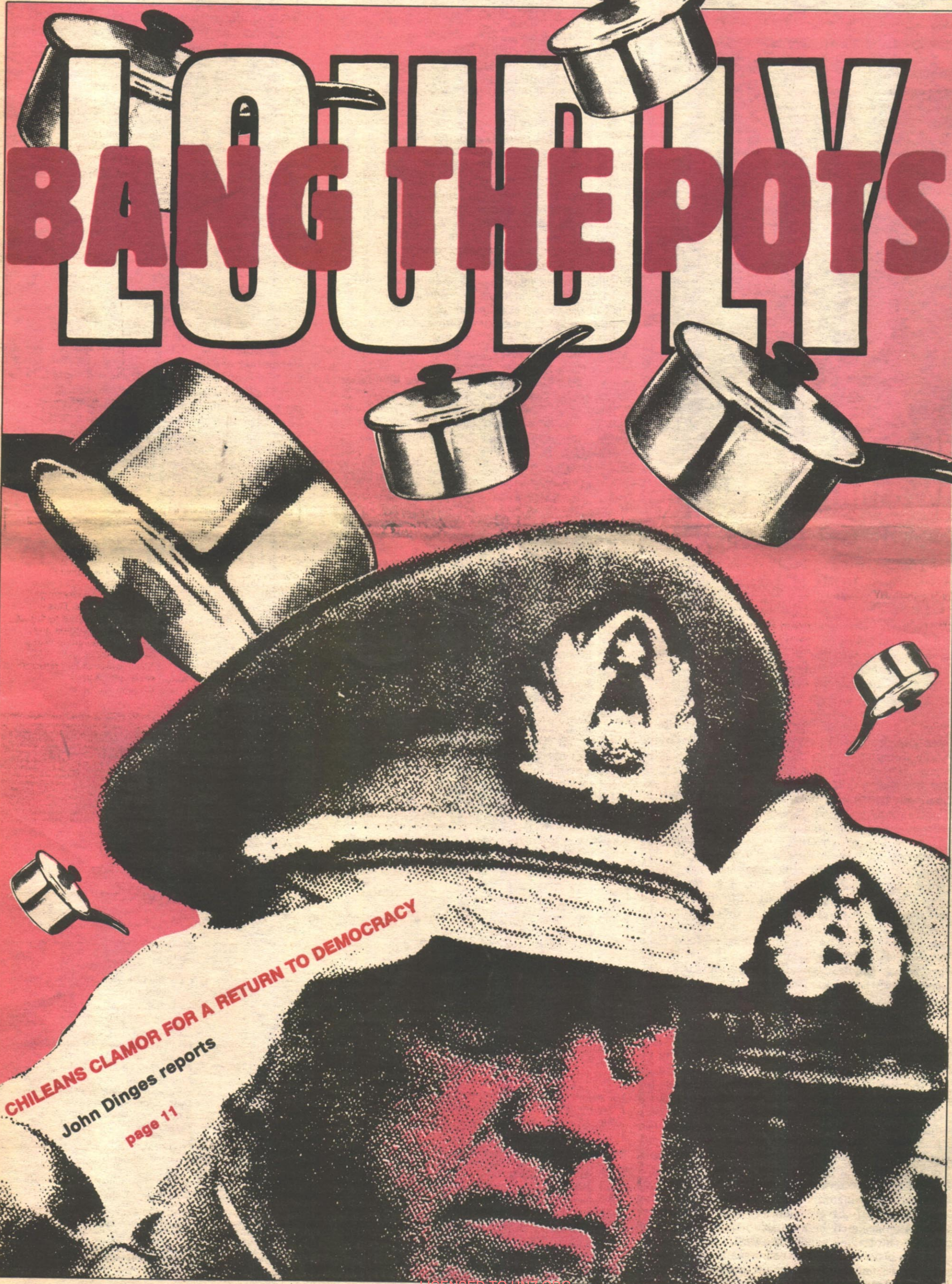
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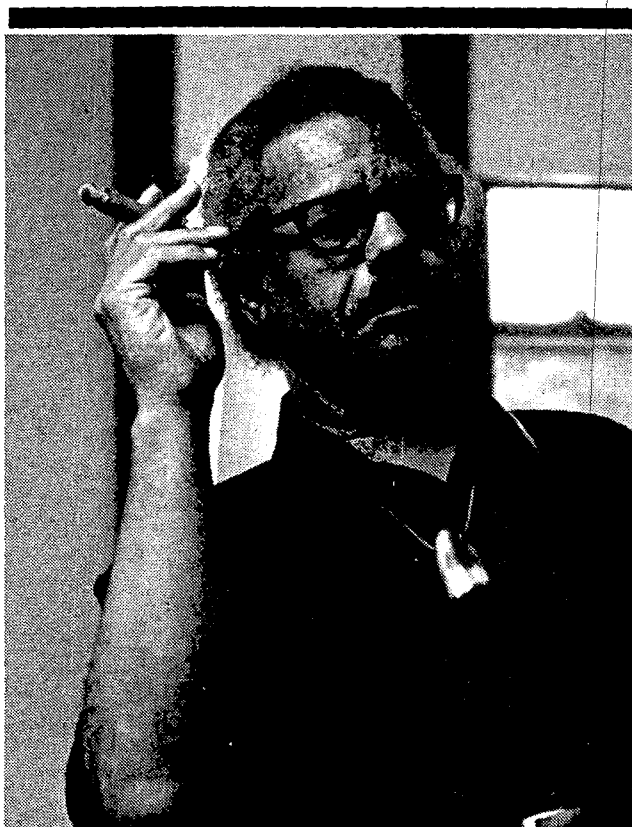
JULY 13-26, 1983

\$1.25



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THE INSIDE STORY



Lu Palmer

Washington House seat up for grabs

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

The black community have seemed seamlessly, effortlessly united in Harold Washington's victory this spring. Yet the Washington campaign was not only a coalition of blacks, liberal whites and Hispanics, but also a coalition among blacks, many of whom had long disagreed with each other.

Now the July 26 special election primary to fill Washington's vacant 1st District Congressional seat—which should be decisive in this heavily Democratic district—has elicited an outpouring of candidates: 11 Democrats, four Republicans and one from the Socialist Workers Party. The roster offers a remarkable spectrum of black political styles, illuminating the recent history of black politics in Chicago but also posing issues nationally.

The 1st District, covering a large part of Chicago's south side, has traveled the course from black Republicanism through machine bossism and into liberal political independence from the machine. Now 92 percent black, it is the poorest district in the state. Yet despite the broken and neglected neighborhoods in the district's north end and the heavy concentration of impoverished housing projects lining miles of South State Street, the district includes one integrated enclave and prosperous middle-class black neighborhoods as well as the now-jeopardized working-class communities near the declining steel mills at the south end.

The long list of candidates brings out some eccentricities from the political margins. There's computer consultant Donald Jones with high technology hopes ("get a Jones [i.e., addiction] for progress"), an inventor who is offering manufacture of his weird bicycle-based contraptions as the solution to the district's high unemployment (more than double the city's average), the perennial U.S. Labor Party candidate fulminating against KGB control of the nuclear freeze movement, and the anti-abortion, anti-homosexual, pro-school prayer son of a fundamentalist minister, to cite a few.

But there are several substantial candidates. None matches Washington's talents and experience, but almost any of the even halfway serious contenders would immediately be a reliable liberal vote in Congress. The leading candidates are Lu Palmer, 61, a veteran black journalist turned organizer, and Charles Hayes, 65, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and for several

decades a spokesman for black workers, political independence and left causes.

Most observers think that the only two other candidates with a remote chance are Alderman Marian Humes, originally a machine candidate who has not abandoned those ties even as she has become more independent, and Al Raby, a leader in Chicago civil rights protests of the '60s who then worked in both state and federal government before returning to serve as Washington's campaign manager (winning both notoriety and vilification for the job he did). Both should draw most heavily among middle-class blacks with Raby competing with Hayes for white liberal votes (disproportionately about 14 percent of the district).

Somewhere behind them are: Larry Bullock, a clever but devious machine politician who won few friends with his endorsement of Jane Byrne in the last primary; Charles Chew, a state senator who was one of the earliest black independents but then made his peace with the machine and sought personal fortune; and Ralph Metcalfe, son of the former Congressman who can claim both consistent independence and political failure.

With few burning issues dividing them, personal histories, credentials and style become leading marks of distinction. And since special elections typically draw a low turnout, nuts-and-bolts organization may be more decisive in this election than usual. On the traditional political spectrum, Hayes and Palmer are most to the left, while Raby is more moderate, Humes is an ill-defined center and Chew and Bullock hold relatively conservative positions for urban black Democrats.

Yet between the two leaders, Hayes and Palmer, many see a choice—coalition politics versus black nationalism, or the more traditional congressional role of legislator and provider of services to the district versus the Congress member as tribune of the people.

In his union hall decorated with murals of labor history—which included a banner exhorting "Black and white, unite and fight," Hayes recounted a rocky history of trying to achieve such unity on behalf of blacks and workers. Hayes grew up in southern Illinois during the Depression, landing his first job at less than 25 cents an hour at a hardwood flooring plant. There, he organized the majority-black factory into the Carpenters' union, eventually getting even the whites to join. "We had to stick together," he said. "Their wages weren't too good either."

Hayes moved to Chicago in 1942 to work—and organize—in the stockyards, where he was a local president and leader of a major strike in 1948 and eventually became district director and then vice-president of the union.

But Hayes was always active in local politics, including a brief period where he supported Progressive Party candidates. He made his union instrumental in Chicago and Southern civil rights movements and backed almost every local anti-machine candidate, black or white.

Hayes is criticized by some opponents for representing a narrow special interest that is white-controlled and insensitive to blacks—"big labor." But Hayes, a founder of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, has fought against conservative union leaders repeatedly on civil rights and political issues. In any case, he asks, "what's broader than labor?"

Because of the substantial union membership in the 1st District, Hayes has solid organized labor support. But he is not as widely known as Palmer among the public, despite his years of activity, and is an unimpressive

public speaker. Yet that may be compensated by Mayor Washington's endorsement. Although Washington is close to both Palmer and Hayes, his endorsement is a tribute to Hayes' long personal support and a confidence in his abilities to serve the district.

Palmer's formative political experiences offered fewer instances of black-white unity. His father, a prominent black educator in Newport News, Va., lost his job for advocating equalizing pay of black and white teachers and died shortly afterwards. Palmer, who completed course work toward a Ph.D., worked for both the black press and then major Chicago dailies before quitting after a long series of disagreements with his editors over his advocacy journalism.

For the past decade Palmer has been a popular radio commentator on black radio stations. For years he refused to vote in any elections and advocated black abstention. But in the late '70s he changed his mind and became more active in both protest and electoral politics, forming a group called Black Men's Forum and the Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC). Palmer has particular appeal not only to the more nationalistic political activists but also to the poorer voters in the district. "I believe black people—all people—must be free," he says. "But because I'm black, I put my allegiance first to my people. I ask what would be good for the black liberation movement. What's good for black people is good for all people."

According to Palmer, the real issue in the campaign is not the candidates' stands on Reaganomics or cutting defense spending, since most come close to agreeing, but "who has been most consistent in the struggle in support of black people" and who will carry forward the movement that elected Washington. In turn, Washington sees Hayes' victory as important to building his political power in the city, an argument that will carry substantial weight in the 1st District. "The district happens to be the most independent in the city, and it's the centerpiece of my so-called political operation," Washington says. "I would hate to end up with egg on my face."

City Council members backing Washington are split among the candidates—some seeing Hayes as a standard-bearer of coalition politics who will care for his district as a good union representative would, others backing Palmer as an unorthodox Congressman who would be a voice of protest and agitation on behalf of black needs. All of the candidates profess continued support of Washington and pledge renewed unity after the battle. Despite the apparent similarity among candidates, the political nuances take on special importance in defining the direction of black politics in Chicago. ■

Fund drive fizzle

With our spring fund drive dribbling out, we are sorry to report that as of last week we had received only \$26,005, less than a third of our \$80,000 goal. Some money is still coming in, and we expect the total to reach close to \$30,000. But no matter how we slice it, we will soon be in financial trouble and will have to appeal to our readers again in the fall.

Our conclusion is that because people are being bombarded from all sides for contributions to various causes they tend to respond only to the most pressing. Our situation was not especially pressing this spring, and we did not make an emergency appeal. Next time, we may have to. ■

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60657, (312) 472-5700.

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Geneva talks aid deployment

By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

THE GENEVA INTERMEDIATE nuclear force (INF) negotiations are looking more and more like political fraud. Theoretically, the talks are one-half of the "double track" of the famous December 1979 NATO decision, the other half being the plan to deploy 572 Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in five NATO countries.

The talks were supposed to make deployment unnecessary. And European public opinion was lulled into accepting the double track decision with the expectation that the negotiations track would cancel out the deployment track.

Instead, the deployment track has moved along faster than expected. U.S. officials now hope to install nine Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany by December 15. These are the missiles that will alter the strategic balance between the U.S. and the USSR by putting Soviet territory within less than 10 minutes' striking distance by American-controlled nuclear weapons for the first time.

Meanwhile, the negotiations track is not only stalled but also looks like a clever device to ensure rather than prevent this dangerous new step-up in the arms race.

The negotiations the Europeans had in mind in December 1979 was the anticipated third round of the Soviet-American strategic arms limitations talks (SALT 3). West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in particular wanted intermediate range nuclear forces included in SALT 3. He complained that the Carter administration had disregarded European interests by leaving them out of SALT 2. Thus the Soviets had piled up missiles in the category left unlimited by SALT 2—the intermediate range SS20s. This could be remedied by including intermediate range or "Eurostrategic" missiles in the next effort to define superpower balance, SALT 3.

But SALT 2 was not ratified and SALT 3 was aborted, leaving only the INF negotiations. For the first two years after the double-track decision, only one track was functioning—deployment preparations. The double-track decision had allowed four years for negotiations before deployment was to begin, but half that time had passed before even a pretense of negotiations got underway.

But the INF talks opened in Geneva on Nov. 30, 1981, between U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze and Soviet negotiator Yuli Kvitsinski, did not insert Eurostrategic weapons into the context of the overall strategic balance between the U.S. and the USSR, as Schmidt had wanted—quite the contrary. The single category of European land-based intermediate range missiles was taken out of any context and placed on the negotiating table by itself.

This is a category where the Soviets—a land-based European power—have an overwhelming superiority. Thus, the search for "balance" in this particular category produces a flood of Western propaganda arousing fears of the SS-20s, followed by demands for unilateral Soviet disarmament to achieve balance in this particular category, eventually leading to deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe (since the suspicious Soviets are quite unlikely to disarm unilaterally).

With this in mind, representatives of independent European peace movements meeting in Paris on June 10 called for "suspension of both elements of the NATO double-track decision: the deployment and the negotiations in terms of a Eurostrategic balance of certain new weapons systems."

The European peace movements noted that "the concept of Eurostrategic bal-

ance of ground-based missiles implies under present conditions that any outcome means the coming of a new generation of missiles. These INF talks are, therefore, a dead-end street."

The European peace movements said they would oppose any compromise in the Geneva INF negotiations that meant even partial deployment of Cruise and Pershing 2. They complained that the negotiators talk "over the heads of the people concerned, about preserving the status quo and legitimizing each side's armament." What is needed is "a new frame of reference for negotiations," they said.

In order to shape this new frame of reference, some suggested less secrecy and more public involvement in the negotiating process. Others suggested a sort of reciprocal unilateralism, with states signaling each other by taking steps toward disarmament one after the other—the same process as the arms race, but in reverse.

German SPD runaround?

What attitude to take to the Geneva INF talks is a problem that has puzzled and

had been made by the end of June or the beginning of July, it would be technically too late. This time has past and the SPD is coming to the conclusion the peace movement reached months ago—that stopping missile deployment was never what the INF talks were about.

The majority of the SPD, now clearly convinced that they have been given the runaround by the Reagan administration regarding the INF talks, want to stop the missile deployment. Yet the SPD is not holding its special convention to say a final "yes" or "no" to deployment until November, when it will almost be an accomplished fact. This slowness makes much of the peace movement feel it is being given the runaround by the SPD. The party clearly dreads a frontal confrontation with the U.S.

But it is gradually getting up its courage. Bahr argued in the June 8 issue of the SPD weekly *Vorwärts* that it is not the SPD that has changed since the December 1979 NATO decision, but rather the whole context. For one thing, Bahr said that in the summer of 1979, when the Germans raised the question of stationing the cruise missiles at sea, the Americans

visible coordinating committee of various pacifist groups affiliated to the independent European nuclear disarmament movement, has failed to get off the ground as a mass movement or even to stimulate an audible debate.

It criticizes both blocs and refuses to cooperate with any initiatives that might be interpreted as pro-Soviet in an attempt to attract the independent non-Communist left, in particular the French Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT). But the CFDT has stayed away, and the small Unified Socialist Party (PSU), while signing the CODENE appeal, has not actively tried to build the movement. Both the CFDT and the PSU remain absorbed in the problem of how to support, or be supported by, the left government—and this means going along with President Francois Mitterrand's foreign and military policy.

Thus the French Communist Party (PCF) has naturally moved in to stake out the largely unoccupied peace movement turf. Leaving aside the old PCF-led *Mouvement de la Paix*, tarnished by its '50s cold war image, the PCF, through its Secretary General Georges Marchais, has written to European government and party leaders proposed that the Geneva negotiations be opened to all European governments. Marchais suggested that the Europeans, who are most concerned, could help the two superpowers out of



"Keep raising the price and the next thing you know everybody will be talking peace!"

The intermediate nuclear force talks in Geneva simply facilitate missile deployment in NATO countries.

divided Europeans who are opposed to missile deployment. As recently as the Berlin European nuclear disarmament convention in May, German Social Democratic Party (SPD) East-West policy specialist Egan Bahr had not ruled out the possibility of success at the Geneva INF talks.

He defined "success" as one of three outcomes: a two-year prolongation of the talks with no missile deployment meanwhile; a merging of the INF with the START talks, also with no deployment; and a U.S. decision to station the Cruise missiles at sea and abandon the Pershing 2. At the same time, Bahr said that time was running out and that if no progress

insisted that this was technically not feasible. Yet "in October 1981 we could read in the newspapers that the Reagan administration had decided to produce some 4,000 sea- and air-based cruise missiles." The need for an additional 400 land-based ones only makes sense in terms of planning for a war limited to Europe, he added.

In a 16-page policy statement at the beginning of June, the SPD Bundestag faction made a final plea for results at Geneva. The Social Democrats warned that collapse of the Geneva talks could "destroy people's hope that arms control and disarmament can be achieved through negotiations." They concluded that achievement of a negotiated compromise taking into consideration German security interests "is much more important than sticking to a deployment schedule provisionally decided four years ago."

On June 28, the SPD executive committee authorized Party members to take part in anti-missile demonstrations in the fall.

France: dead in the water.

France continues to be a case apart. The French committee for European nuclear disarmament (CODENE), an almost in-

their deadlock in defining the balance of power in Europe and get the talks rolling.

Expressing the view of the independent European peace movements, the Dutch inter-church peace council (IKV) rejects the Marchais proposal as inadequate, since what is wrong with the Geneva INF talks is not just that they are between the two superpowers, but that they are limited to the search for a balance in land-based forces in Europe, which can only lead to deployment of new missiles on the Western side.

Marchais' proposal is a typical PCF exercise in using pieces of Mitterrand or Socialist Party doctrine—in this case, Mitterrand's obsession with "balance" and the Socialist Party's old platform calling for all-European negotiations—to patch together a position that ostensibly agrees with the Mitterrand government while tacitly criticizing it from the left. This is a way for the PCF to stay in the government while occupying the terrain to its left.

More and more, members of other European peace movements are convinced that, like it or not, to find French people who want to talk about peace it will be necessary to deal with the French Communist Party.

IN SHORT

New Carthan charges dropped

The protracted legal intimidation of former Tchula, Miss., mayor Eddie Carthan (*In These Times*, Jan. 20, 1982) took a new turn last month when the U.S. Attorney General's office dismissed the second round of federal fraud charges brought against Carthan. In the latest of a series of spurious charges lodged against the reform-minded black official, Carthan was accused of submitting false invoices to a federally funded feeding program in 1979.

Sheila Collins reports that the charges were dropped two days after Carthan refused to trade a guilty plea (certain political suicide) for both a guaranteed dismissal of the current fraud charge and a reduction in the sentence he is now serving for an earlier fraud conviction. The government cited the death of the prosecution's chief witness, the wasteful use of the taxpayers' money and the fact that Carthan had already "received substantial periods of incarceration" as justification for the dismissal. According to Carthan's attorneys, Johnnie Wallis and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, the government's panicked plea bargaining and the case's eventual dismissal indicated that the government had a weak case.

Carthan's personal and political fortunes have not changed dramatically because of the dismissal, however—he is currently serving a three-year prison sentence for a previous conviction for giving false information to a federally insured bank. But Carthan's supporters hope to use this brief legal retreat to increase pressure at state and federal levels to drop outstanding charges against the Mississippi politician.

AFSCME wins

In a major union victory last month, University of California (UC) employees statewide have voted to make the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) their exclusive representative in contract negotiations with the university, William Swislow reports. (*In These Times*, May 24). The vote, involving some 40,000 non-teaching workers organized in several statewide bargaining units, followed four years of union organizing in a drive the university aggressively opposed. A few of the smaller, occupationally defined units voted against representation and a few voted for other unions. But clerical and service workers, the largest job categories, backed AFSCME. Service workers voted 2,854-921 for the union. The 20,000-strong clerical unit backed AFSCME by a much narrower margin, 5,975-5,255. The turnout was 64.6 percent in the first major union election at UC since university workers won the right to bargain collectively under the 1979 Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act.

Buy now, band-aid later

In separate reports, both the General Accounting Office (GAO) and Defense Department Deputy Inspector General Derek Vander Schaaf recently expressed fear that the Pentagon has ordered weapons without knowing whether they'll work in wartime. Due to decisions to buy weapons while they're still being developed as well as the involvement of weapons manufacturers in the testing of their own products and the spiraling cost of hardware—often at the expense of testing resources—the Defense Department has encouraged a "buy it now, Band-Aid it later attitude," according to Sen. William Roth Jr. (R-Del.), head of the Government Affairs Oversight Committee. "The result has been that more than \$33 billion in weapons systems are now in production whose safety, reliability and combat readiness remain unproven."

Vander Schaaf blamed the premature rush into production for the near-miss of the Bradley fighting vehicle, a presumably amphibious vehicle that was later found not to float. He hastened to add that problems such as this will be corrected by the time the field tests are conducted. In many cases, however, weapons testing is just not up to par with possible modern war scenarios. The Air Force and Navy test their missiles against dummy aerial targets that are substantially slower and less maneuverable than Soviet jets, according to the GAO report.

Sen. David H. Pryor (D-Ark.), concerned about potential weapons failure, has proposed legislation to establish an independent testing office within the Pentagon. The Pentagon's Research Director Richard DeLasser dismissed the GAO's criticisms and denied the need for such an office.

Bomb then, buy now

Clearly, it's not like the good old days anymore, when Americans could breathe easy knowing that the defense of their country was not left up to the vagaries of rushed production schedules or dummy targets. Thirty years ago the targets were much more lifelike and true-to-scale—such as when the U.S. tested a small part of its nuclear arsenal on the Marshall Islands. That time the bombs were right on target, so much so that American taxpayers will now foot the bill for \$83.7 million owed to families who owned the land on the island that was destroyed. This settlement was reached last month after 14 years of negotiation.

—Beth Maschinot



More than 150 people watch as helium balloons are released to indicate the movement of radiation from the seven nuclear power plants surrounding Ottawa, Ill., 80 miles west of Chicago. The June 25 "Atomic Illinois" rally featured speeches by Harvey Wasserman, co-author of *KILLING OUR OWN*, and several atomic veterans.

Denver votes for "vision"

DENVER—Denver Democrats called it a political miracle. A young former state legislator, running full-speed out of nowhere, became the city's first Hispanic mayor June 21—and the first Hispanic ever to lead a major city with a predominantly Anglo population. Federico Pena, 36, beat 49-year-old Dale Tooley, the city's former district attorney, earning 79,453 votes, or 51.4 percent, to Tooley's 75,043 votes, or 48.6 percent.

Election commissioner F.J. Serafini called the turnout, at 71.4 percent, the heaviest ever for a Denver election. But record turnouts had been expected: Pena's campaign alone drew in thousands of city residents who previously either had never voted at all or stayed shy of local elections.

"He started out with a minority base—the alienated and the disenfranchised—and turned it into a magnificent coalition," said Marshall Kaplan, dean of Public Affairs at the University of Colorado in Denver.

Spirits indeed ran high throughout the five-week runoff election, after Pena and Tooley emerged as frontrunners from a seven-candidate mayoral race May 17. No candidate at that time won a clear majority, but voters did unite in opposition to the city's former mayor, 14-year veteran William McNichols, who finished a distant third. A three-day drive by Pena volunteers after the "primary" helped register more than 5,000 new voters, many of them Chicanos with no previous stake in local politics. Those who watched registrees waiting in line said several responded "Pena!" when asked to name their party.

Pena's long-shot success has been credited in part to campaign advisors Tom Nussbaum

and John Parr, who both worked with Dick Lamm to keep the Olympics out of Colorado in 1972. Later Parr and Nussbaum helped run Lamm's successful race for Colorado governor.

Both liberal Democrats, Pena and Tooley agreed fundamentally on most city issues, such as growth, pollution and redevelopment. What set them apart was style. Pena, a photogenic bachelor, ran on charisma and "vision." His campaign slogan was, "Imagine a Great City," and his suggestions for future

House of Representatives, where he helped write the nation's first bilingual-bicultural law, requiring many school districts to offer courses in Spanish culture and language.

But Pena shrank throughout his campaign from being labeled as a candidate solely for Hispanics, who make up only about 19 percent of the city. "I don't want to be a national figure," he said in a recent interview. "I know I'll have my hands full in Denver."

—Kathy Ellison



"DON'T BUY A GUT OVER IT — JUST CLEAN IT UP ENOUGH FOR RESALE."

management stressed innovation, with one plan that would consolidate major city departments. Tooley, married 27 years with four children, touted his experience as an administrator and the sound management he promised Denverites. Tooley had run twice before, without success, for mayor in 1971 and 1975. He has said that 1983 would be his last attempt.

By this year, however, Tooley was already being called "Mc-Tooley" by critics who viewed him as simply a continuation of politics as they had been. Such was not at all the case with Pena.

A Brownsville, Texas, transplant, Pena came to Denver 11 years ago and fought for Mexican-American education rights in the early '70s. His first Denver job was as a staff attorney for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF). Then he served two terms in the Colorado

EPA chief unveils rules

WASHINGTON—William D. Ruckelshaus, the Reagan administration's living, breathing symbol of environmental integrity, proposed on June 22 sweeping changes in how the government regulates toxic chemicals. But according to some environmentalists, his proposals could seriously weaken existing anti-pollution laws.

Ruckelshaus, former FBI chief and the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) first administrator under President Nixon, was called in this spring to shape up an agency that had grown demoralized and scandal-ridden under earlier Reagan appointee Anne Burford. Environmentalists, greatly relieved at the departure of Burford and her chief aides, have generally hailed the moderate Republican lawyer and

So most environmentalists hailed his June 22 address delivered before the privately funded National Academy of Sciences (NAS) as evidence that EPA will now at least be guided by regulatory principles rather than by mere political expediency.

But Ruckelshaus' principles seem destined to open a large can of worms for environmental, labor and community organizers across the country who are working to reduce the public's exposure to toxic chemicals. He opened his speech by deploring the "emotionalism" about toxic chemicals that he claimed is currently sweeping the country. Claiming that such emotionalism has created a "paralysis of honest public policy" in chemical regulation, Ruckelshaus went on to promise greater involvement of scientists and "the idea of science" in the regulatory process.

Probably the most important proposal he called for was greater uniformity in the way different federal agencies regulate toxic chemicals. Although a case can be made for such regulatory uniformity, scientists such as the Environmental Defense Fund's Ellen Silbergeld and Sheldon Samuels, who covers occupational safety and health issues for AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, warn it is not necessarily justified by science. Since a chemical may have different health effects depending on whether individuals are exposed to it through skin contact, food or breathing, uniform regulation by such diverse agencies as the Food and Drug Administration and EPA might not make sense.

Samuels also notes that Ruckelshaus is proposing to centralize decision-making about chemicals, and "centralized decision-making is vulnerable to centralized political pressure"—particularly by corporations.

Ruckelshaus also repeatedly called for greater government reliance on two regulatory tools known as "risk assessment" and "risk management." While many scientists enthusiastically support risk assessment—which is the use of various analytical and statistical techniques, along with health studies, to determine the risks that various substances pose to society—some warn that the procedure is a young and inexact one.

Risk management, in turn—a process that utilizes risk assessment information—is generally believed to be the balancing of perceived risks from various substances against costs of eliminating or reducing those risks. In the field of chemical regulation, most environmentalists believe it means balancing corporate expenditures against known or suspected dangers to human health.

Researcher Barbara Frese of Public Citizen, Inc.'s Health Research Group notes that the mathematics involved in risk management "compares apples with oranges—corporate profits with human health." Many environmentalists have doubts about risk management because of the scientific uncertainties connected to risk assessment. Many believe it systematically overstates corporate costs—which are quantifiable—while understating long-

term health impacts, which are less quantifiable.

Environmentalists have applauded Ruckelshaus' promise to separate the science of determining chemical risks from the policy procedures involved in turning those determinations into regulations. But by advocating centralized regulation-making, risk assessment and risk management, Ruckelshaus appears to be setting up a process that could result in corporate profits being balanced against human health considerations. —Andy Feeney

Lesbian/gay march in SF

SAN FRANCISCO—The most important marcher in the June 26 Lesbian/Gay Freedom Parade here were no costume at all. But the specter of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic that is sweeping gay communities across the country hovered over every float and every marching group.

The 13th annual parade, held to commemorate the date of a 1969 police attack on a gay bar in New York's Greenwich Village, marched up Market Street and headed for a reception in the city's Civic Center. The theme of this year's parade was "Strengthen the Ties, Break the Chains," but the concern chief in the minds of organizers and participants alike was the impact AIDS will have on the gains made by gay men and lesbians in recent years.

During the weeks preceding the parade, organizers and community leaders worried that sensationalistic media coverage would decrease attendance and provide an easy excuse for a new wave of homophobia. "The vast majority of the media coverage we've received boils down to a simple statement: if you are gay, you are going to die," Konstantin Berlandt, co-chair of this year's parade committee, told *In These Times*. And in fact, a survey of gay travel agents in major cities across the country showed gay bookings to San Francisco and New York down.

Nonetheless, between 200,000 and 300,000 people from across the country and across the world watched the parade, the largest event of its kind anywhere. The crowd was by some accounts slightly more subdued than in recent years, perhaps in response to the contingent of AIDS victims marching near the front of the parade. They were followed by a remarkable array of groups, from the Dykes on Bikes that led the parade to Gay American Indians, gays of every religious persuasion—and gay atheists, gay fathers and parents of gays, drag queens and the perennial local favorites, the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, an order of gay male nuns.

One notable change this year was the refusal of the state's new Republican governor, George Deukmejian, to issue an official proclamation in honor of Gay Pride Week, as his predecessor, Democrat Jerry Brown, had done. San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein issued such a proclamation, but didn't attend the parade. —Alan Kay

Briefing: Workfare set back in court

The growing practice of forcing welfare recipients to work for their benefits, commonly known as workfare, was set back recently by court decisions in Philadelphia and Sacramento, Calif. In Philadelphia, a U.S. district court ordered the state to reinstate benefits to as many as 90,000 people. But the sending out of checks was stayed pending appeal.

The program required single "able-bodied" adults on General Assistance (GA) between the ages of 18 and 45 to work in exchange for a maximum of three months of benefits at minimum wage. Benefits were cut off for the rest of the year in an effort to "encourage" recipients to look for work in the private sector and in order to save the state approximately \$92 million. The suit claimed that classifying recipients as "able-bodied" strictly because of their age was discriminatory.

Pennsylvania has threatened to cut welfare payments across the board if the decision is upheld and it has also threatened to require all General Assistance recipients to participate in workfare regardless of age.

In Sacramento, the California State Supreme Court ordered an immediate stay of the practice of forcing recipients to work in a Charles Dickens-style poor house run by the

evangelical Volunteers of America, which was recently featured on *60 Minutes*.

Residency in the 70-person "poor house," said Melinda Bird of the Western Center on Law and Poverty and senior counsel in the suit, was a requirement for all county GA recipients. Instead of checks, they received room and board. Their daily routine started with a 6:00 a.m. rising and ended with a 9:00 p.m. curfew. Before the suit was filed, residents reportedly weren't given their own toilet paper and had to ask for a few sheets to go to the bathroom.

Conditions at the poor house were so bad that nearly half of Sacramento County's recipients opted to be cut off welfare rather than live there.

In fact, Bird argues that most California workfare programs are obstacles set up by the state to discourage people from seeking welfare. She said the expense of administering the few hours of minimum wage work involved hardly makes workfare an attractive source of cheap labor; and people often lose their benefits because they don't understand or cannot meet the complex regulations.

But oddly enough, less people on state workfare left the relief rolls than those off it, perhaps because they had less time to look for a job, according to Bird. Ironically, Bird said, California Governor Ronald Reagan's 1971-74 workfare pro-



Steve Kagan

gram for the federally funded Assistance to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) had been "disastrous" in achieving the desired result of reducing the rolls.

President Reagan's fondness for counting the help wanted ads in the Sunday newspaper has apparently sparked a nationwide workfare revival. By last December, 19 states had implemented workfare programs for GA, which is funded and controlled by the states.

In addition, Reagan pushed for his own AFDC workfare program to be made mandatory for all states, replacing the Work Incentive (WIN) program, which had emphasized training and job placement. The resulting compromise coming out of the 1981 budget battle severely cut the WIN program and made AFDC and food stamp workfare optional for states.

Eventually, half the states implemented AFDC workfare, 12 forced people to work for their food stamps, nine made workfare mandatory for all recipients and 39 have now either authorized or set a starting date for a statewide program.

State participants in AFDC workfare are supposed to adhere to such federal guidelines as exempting single mothers with children under the age of six, but guidelines can be waived with the permission of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Michigan, for example, only exempts single parents with children under six months of age.

Michigan has had a workfare program for GA recipients since 1976. But Beverly McDonald, a community legal service attorney in Detroit, asks, "How many people can you have picking up papers on the ramp of an expressway?" She says enforcement of the work requirement in workfare depends on the county, but only a low percentage actually have jobs. Another problem, McDonald says, is inadequate funding for day care, medical care and transportation, all of which can prevent people from getting to work on time or not at all. The penalty for being late to work can be a loss of up to three months of benefits.

—Bob Sanders



Steve Kagan

IN THE NATION

TEACHERS

NEA, AFT miles apart at meetings

By Steve Askin

PHILADELPHIA

THE NATION'S TWO MAJOR teachers organizations, holding their annual conventions 3,000 miles apart over the July 4 weekend, showed how much they have changed since the days when the National Education Association (NEA) was a cautious professional organization and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was its militant trade union rival.

President Reagan underscored the long-developing shift when he criticized the NEA in an address to AFT's convention in Los Angeles. Reagan—apparently referring to controversial NEA lesson plans on racism and disarmament—condemned “curriculum guides that seem to be aimed at frightening and brainwashing American school children than at fostering learning and stimulating balanced, intelligent debate.” Reagan refused NEA's invitation to send a videotaped message to its Philadelphia convention.

Embattled and somewhat defensive, the 1.7 million-member NEA demonstrated its impressive political clout, its trade union-like militancy against “merit pay” for teachers and its fervent commitment to left-liberal politics. Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, AFT president Albert Shanker positioned himself as the more moderate teacher leader. He graded Reagan “F+” on education issues and declared that the union will support a Democrat for president in 1984, but called for toughened academic standards and offered to consider merit pay proposals.

In Philadelphia, the current political craze for education reform set NEA's agenda but produced no major policy changes at the group's 127th annual meeting.

“We are not the problem; we must not allow ourselves to be intimidated into acting as if we were,” outgoing President Willard McGuire told the 7,000 delegates in a somewhat somber valedictory speech. His successor, Mary Hatwood Futrell, demanded that “all political leaders shall be held responsible for their rhetoric, their response and their reactions to the needs of America's public schools”; that “the president of the U.S. shall be held as accountable for his actions as he holds us accountable for ours.”

Evidence of NEA's enduring political strength—no other organization had as many members elected to the Democratic Convention in 1980—was provided by politicians seeking the 1984 presidential nomination. Though they were not allowed to address the convention, each of the six announced Democratic contenders appeared in Philadelphia to meet with smaller groups of delegates.

Delegates and leaders were passionately anti-Reagan. One political button popular among the delegates declared that “Jane Wyman was right”—a reference to Ronald Reagan's first wife who divorced him. “America's children are too important to let Ronald Reagan serve four more years,” declared North Carolinian John Wilson as he campaigned for a NEA leadership post. “Reagan took a political bite out of us, and I believe our job is to help him choke on it,” said another candidate.

Because the NEA represents far more rural and suburban teachers and has a

much smaller percentage of minority teachers, its membership is widely assumed to be more conservative than that of the smaller, 580,000-member AFT. Nonetheless, on most national issues NEA is clearly the more liberal of the two organizations. At its convention, delegates refused to back down from the controversial political stands that have made it a favorite target of New Right and neo-conservative critics.

A key test came in voting on proposed convention rule changes that would have

NEA delegates didn't back down from controversial stands that have made it a New Right target.

made it more difficult for the NEA to adopt positions on non-education issues. A New Hampshire delegate who favored the change complained that “we spend an inordinate amount of time at our convention debating issues like nuclear disarmament, abortion and Central America policy.” Others, particularly those from the South, said that NEA's peace activism and support for gun control made union organizing more difficult in their areas. Nonetheless, delegates overwhelmingly rejected the proposed changes.

Futrell's election to the presidency provides further evidence of NEA's transformation from a cautious group of school officials, administrators and teachers into a militant labor organization to the left politically of most of the U.S. union movement. When Futrell started teaching 20 years ago, she could not join the NEA affiliate in her home state, Virginia, because it still refused to admit black teachers. Yet on July 3, she became the NEA's third black president in 15 years and the only black woman now heading a nationwide labor organization.

The NEA opposed collective bargaining for teachers until the '60s and it changed policies only after tens of thousands of big city members defected to the AFT.

The two groups have been evolving in very different directions ever since. NEA recoiled from its racist past by adopting a quota system that guarantees minority representation in leadership and by supporting preferential retention of minority teachers where layoffs threaten to reduce

black or Hispanic employment.

AFT president Shanker has become the labor movement's most fervent opponent of racial quotas. NEA strongly supports the peace movement and has given free office space to disarmament activists; AFT leaders tend to support a hardline military and foreign policy. NEA officials often criticize Shanker's “dictatorial rule” of the AFT; AFT leaders call NEA a “staff run” organization in which neither rank-and-file members nor their elected leaders have much real power.

For 10 years, the NEA's chief of staff, outgoing executive director Terry Herndon, was the group's most visible public leader, in part because he held office far longer than any NEA president. But Futrell and other NEA officials insist that she—not new executive director Don Cameron—will be the group's chief policymaker during her two-year term. A 43-year-old Alexandria, Va., high school business teacher who previously served as NEA's secretary-treasurer and president of ERAmerica, she was elected president without opposition.

In an interview before the convention, Futrell said she will work to reclaim the NEA's old image as a group of professionals who place education first. But she insisted that she will do that without abandoning the broader political involvement that has made it a potent force in the Democratic Party and an important ally for the peace, civil and women's rights movements.

Steve Askin is Washington bureau chief of the National Catholic Reporter.



AFT President Albert Shanker called for toughened academic standards and said the union would consider merit pay proposals.

SURPLUS FOOD

Democrats call for probe

By Drew Mendelson

KANSAS CITY, KA

THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING Office (GAO) has been asked by Democratic Congress members from Ohio and Minnesota to investigate the storage methods and condition of five billion pounds of surplus commodity foods currently held by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 600 locations around the country.

Congress members are concerned about the quantity of food stored and the storage conditions.

The request was made following the Congress members' unsuccessful June 27 attempt to lead print and broadcast photographers on a photo tour of the Inland Storage facility in Kansas City, Kan. The USDA has contracted to store some 350 million pounds of surplus cheese, along with rice, honey, powdered milk and eggs at Inland, the nation's largest underground storage center.

Reading a statement outside the facility, Ohio Rep. Mary Rose Oaker angrily accused the Reagan administration of attempting to stop the media from docu-

menting the large amount of stored surplus food. She said she and the other Congress members had been assured as late as June 24 by the USDA and by Beatrice Foods Inc., which owns the Inland facility, that cameras would be allowed in.

The Congress members, including Oaker, Dennis Eckart and Marcy Kaptur of Ohio and James Oberstar of Minnesota, held a press conference in Kansas City in cooperation with the Washington, D.C., based Community for Creative Non-violence (CCNV) to call attention to the amount of stored food and call for its distribution to the poor. Afterwards, they accompanied media people, including the Associated Press, CBS News and ABC Night Line, to the limestone caves. There, a Beatrice Foods official told them cameras would not be allowed because the “proprietary” interests of private firms storing food in the facility might be com-

NUCLEAR FREEZE

Freeze leaders adopt the long view



Some freeze leaders think what Congress does in the short run is less important than the institutional changes the movement is spurring.

By David Corn

NEW YORK

WITH THE FREEZE FACING defeat in the Senate, the MX missile revived and the absence of congressional opposition to the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, some political observers in the past weeks have been quick to tout the decline of the freeze campaign and the disarmament movement. And freeze leaders concede that President Reagan's attempt to fashion a so-called "bipartisan consensus" on arms control has shifted the political momentum in Washington, D.C., away from the movement for the time being. But rather than despair, movement leaders, as well as grassroots organizers, maintain that the real battle has only

just begun.

"The peace movement has seen a temporary setback," says Mike Jendrzeczyk of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "It is going through some re-evaluation, but anyone writing it off now is making a big mistake." Christopher Paine of the Federation of American Scientists agrees: "We're not going to be handed the easy public relations victories that we've had before." And Howard Morland of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, noting that there are not too many positive signs in the immediate future, adds, "The peace movement is going to have to figure out how to live without tangible victories."

Although the freeze movement's response to Reagan's new look in arms control may be slow in arriving, leaders promise it is coming. What is most important, they say, is not always what oc-

curs in Washington. "The grassroots is the only place where we have possibilities," says Morland. "The other side has more money and leverage. We have people."

With or without the promise of success, there is work to be done. The freeze campaign is lobbying actively for the freeze in the Senate. Although the Republican-dominated Senate is expected to defeat the freeze resolution, freeze supporters will try at least to spark a big debate.

But what is developing as the major front for the antinuclear movement is the Euromissiles issue. SANE, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the United Church of Christ and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have set up the Cruise and Pershing Project in Washington, which will lobby Congress to prevent the deployment of the Euromissiles. According to Jane Midgeley, director of the project, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) will propose two amendments—one to cut Euromissiles funds for 1984 and one to delay deployment, scheduled for the end of this year, for one year.

But the administration already has the funds it needs for the first phase of the deployment, and Midgeley admits that "at this point, there is not the strength to have winning votes on these amendments."

Mobilization for Survival, says disarmament staffer Bruce Cronin, plans to highlight the Euromissile issue during Hiroshima and Nagasaki days and at the Martin Luther King Jr. march in August. The major demonstration against the Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, however, is scheduled for October 21-24, in conjunction with actions to be held in Western Europe and Canada. Local peace organizations, including freeze groups, will stage decentralized, nonviolent actions at weapons sites and other locations.

Even if the first phase of deployment begins in December, movement leaders say it won't be the end of the debate. "We want to lay an educational base," says Morland, "that may eventually allow for pulling the missiles out, to force their early retirement."

Peace groups are also trying to keep the MX an open question. Some lobbyists for the movement say that there is still a chance—though slight—to defeat the MX, which faces additional votes in the months ahead, especially if Reagan fails to deliver on his promise to display greater flexibility at the negotiating table. Additionally, a new proposal, which would ban the flight testing of the MX as long as the Soviets did not again test their new ICBM, is attracting some support on Capitol Hill.

for the MX—including such leading freeze supporters as Les Aspin and Clement Zablocki. What does this say about the House's commitment to the freeze as an actual strategy for halting the arms race?

Those members of Congress who supported the freeze and who voted for the MX are either being badly misled, fooled by the administration's gestures and pieces of paper—letters that claim it is taking a new tack. Or if they are not being badly misled, they are playing a very dangerous game. I assume they are still critical of the Reagan policy. They think that they are co-opting Reagan by extracting some vague promise about a change in arms control direction more than he is co-opting them. That's a very dubious proposition.

But there is this tendency to say that one week the Congress votes for the freeze, and the next it votes for the MX. That's not completely accurate. One hundred eight-six members of Congress voted against the MX, presumably all of

Although congressional approval of the MX and Reagan's newfound—though fragile—political support for his arms posture has been discouraging for many leaders, some within the movement have responded by re-evaluating strategies and assumptions. "The politicians got away with something and that taught us two lessons," says Jendrzeczyk. "First, Reagan is much more clever at packaging his arms control proposals than we anticipated. Second, we're going to have to push Congress more forcefully."

At a strategy session of the freeze campaign, held June 10-12 in Fort Worth, Texas, state and regional freeze representatives and other leaders of the movement met to clarify the campaign's strategy. A statement produced by the session reaffirmed the basic sentiment behind the freeze that no additional weapons on either side "can be justified on grounds of morality, economics or national security." The freeze campaign decided to urge its supporters—in absence of a freeze—to evaluate individual weapons systems. It was also agreed that the national freeze office would assist local groups that now decide to oppose new weapons.

Still, some peace movement leaders say that the freeze campaign's strategy doesn't go far enough and that a more direct response is needed, such as the call, "no freeze, no funds." In other words, until a freeze is offered to the Soviets, the movement will target the funding for every new nuclear weapon system. "The only alternative then," says Cronin, "would be to freeze so that the Soviets couldn't go ahead with their weapons." At the Fort Worth freeze session, however, some freeze supporters from the Southeast noted that any strategy that appeared unilateral would undermine their organizing efforts.

As for the long-range chances of the freeze, Morland says, "there won't be a single vote in Congress—this year or next year—that sets our course." More important than any one vote on a weapon system, he adds, are the institutional changes that the movement has spurred—the Catholic bishops' letter, the outpouring of previously unavailable information on the arms race, the peace and disarmament courses now being taught in colleges. "This is a long-term struggle," he explains. "If you're going to run a marathon, you don't psyche yourself up to run a 100-yard dash. We might have to think in terms of a 50-year marathon and not expect a whole lot each time there's a vote in Congress."

David Corn is associate editor of *Nuclear Times*, in which a version of this article first appeared.

Freeze mashes up in Congress

While Ronald Reagan was defeating Jimmy Carter on election day 1980, a small citizens campaign in Massachusetts was racking up its first ballot victory. On that day voters in three state senate districts in western Massachusetts passed a freeze referendum by a three-to-two margin. Randy Kehler, 38, who had served two years in prison for draft resistance during the Vietnam war, organized this local campaign. About a year later, when the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign opened its national headquarters in St. Louis, Kehler was at the helm as national coordinator.

In the following interview Kehler discusses with David Corn the current state of the freeze.

Some members of Congress who voted for the freeze turned around and voted



Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the nuclear weapons freeze campaign

whom also voted for the freeze. We're talking about a 100 members of Congress who voted for the freeze and the MX. It's a slight to those 186 to say the whole Congress has turned around. The fact that there are 186 solid votes is not to be taken lightly.

But what does this say about the way many members of the House regard the freeze? Does it indicate that support for the freeze is soft?

It sure does. It means that their support for the freeze was purely political support. They did it for political reasons. Their commitment to stopping the arms race, which is what the freeze is really all about, is questionable at best. The logic of the freeze is not being pursued by them.

In the next few weeks, many nuclear weapons systems will be up for vote, and it is expected that none will meet with much congressional opposition. Will these votes undermine the whole notion of a freeze in the political arena?

Continued on page 10

IN THE WORLD

ITALY

Rightist "rigor" is rejected by voters

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

ITALIANS DID NOT DO AS THEY were told. For months they had been told that, luckily for them, their permanent ruling party, Christian Democracy (DC), had a dynamic new leader, Ciriaco de Mita, who was going to bring Italy up to date in line with the "economic rigor" policies of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

Business leaders were delighted and the Italian people were supposed to be delighted as well. Commentators, the media and opinion polls told them that, in fact, they were.

The left was in a slough. Abroad, Mit-

percent. The PCI held its own with 30 percent. Never has the gap between the two largest parties been so slim.

Moreover, the PCI is reinforced in the economic and cultural centers of northern Italy, whereas the Christian Democrats are more and more becoming the leading party of the boondocks.

The PCI edged ahead of the DC in the country's economic capital, Milan, as well as in Venice and Rome, and improved its lead over the DC in the important industrial centers of Turin and Genoa. In traditional strongholds of Emilia Romagna and Tuscany, with their rich cultural centers like Bologna and Florence, fully half the electorate now votes Communist.

Craxi's Socialists did not manage to reap the full benefit of the DC collapse.

ery and jobs. There is a natural consensus in the propertied classes to try for whatever model of economic recovery seems most feasible, regardless of its effect on employment. These influential classes give political parties the task of gaining majority approval for such policies.

The Italian elections show that neither the Christian Democrats nor the Socialists have had great success in "selling" such policies. Christian Democracy is traditionally a mass party whose power is based on distribution of favors—a political practice and philosophy quite in opposition to the survival-of-the-fittest "rigor" suddenly preached by De Mita, to the applause of international financiers and bankers. The Socialist Party has a middle-class wing of technicians and professional people with a place to carve out for itself in a ruthlessly "modern" economy, but meanwhile the PSI's traditional labor constituency has been transferring its votes to the PCI. All the publicity for economic "rigor" turned out to benefit the party that has always preached it—the Republican Party, Italy's traditional party of free enterprise. But it is a party whose expansion is limited by a clearly defined upper-class base.

Another beneficiary of the much-advertized worldwide "swing to the right" were the fascists of the Italian Social Movement (MSI), who enjoy a sort of extra-territorial power base in parts of the Italo-American community in the U.S. The MSI's nationwide increase of from about 5 to 7 percent of the vote was distributed very unevenly, with the biggest gains in poor southern areas where the deepening insecurity of unemployment and criminality create a growing middle-class demand for order. The fascists scored highest in troubled Naples, with 20 percent, mostly at the expense of the Christian Democrats who fell behind the PCI, now the city's number one party.

"With the collapse of the Christian Democrats, a blow has been struck at the attempt to impose a right turn on Italian politics," PCI general secretary Enrico Berlinguer told the election night crowd. "For the first time it would be numerically possible to form a government without the DC."

This is an unexpected encouragement to the PCI's new "democratic alternative" line, after the failure of the "historic compromise" attempt to govern alongside the DC. Technically, the "democratic alternative" is now possible in terms of a coalition between the PCI and all the other smaller left and center parties. Politically, this is out of the question at present, not so much because Craxi says no (the opportunism and talent for compromise of Italian politicians have overcome much greater obstacles) as because the international climate is overwhelmingly hostile. But in the long run...

The elections were then a surprise moral victory for the PCI after its definitive break with the Soviet model and adoption of the democratic left line long advocated by Pietro Ingrao and the *il manifesto* group expelled from the PCI in 1969. In a happy reconciliation, the *manifesto* leaders who had gone on to form their own Democratic Party for Proletarian Unity (PDUP) were assured of re-election by a place of their own on the PCI electoral lists. In Milan, PDUP

leader Luciana Castellina scored a personal triumph. There were also good scores for other independents given places on the PCI list: jurist Stefano Rodota and Franco Bassanini, who was expelled from the PSI for his objections to the cruise nuclear missile base in Comiso, Sicily.

Peace movement boost.

Castellina, Rodota and Bassanini are all prominent members of the editorial staff of *Pace e Guerra*, the political weekly that has become the voice of the peace movement in Italy. The elections are an encouragement to the peace movement, which has a potential central role to play in the building of a new left coalition.

Opposition to the missiles and to rearmament was also a main campaign issue for the small far-left party Proletarian Democracy (DP), which got into the parliament for the first time with votes mostly from the northernmost part of the country. PCI, PDUP and DP are the main political components of the peace movement so far, alongside the Italian Catholic Workers Association (ACLI). This willingness, even eagerness, to work with independent parties to its left is a little-noticed but significant sign of the PCI's democratic evolution.

In Sicily, the Christian Democrats lost heavily, the PCI held its own and advanced slightly in Palermo and Caltanissetta, and a good part of the DC losses were taken up by the MSI, which got about 12 percent. In Comiso itself, the Christian Democrats lost three seats, the Socialists picked up three and the Communists, the largest party, gained one. In the small island of Lampedusa south of Sicily, the PCI ended 35 years of Christian Democratic hegemony by winning 55 percent of the vote.

The future of the fight around the missile base at Comiso cannot be read in these figures. In an interview in *Le Monde* on June 15, FIAT president Giovanni Agnelli said he thought that "if the elections had been held in six months the question of the missiles would have been in the center of the campaigns."

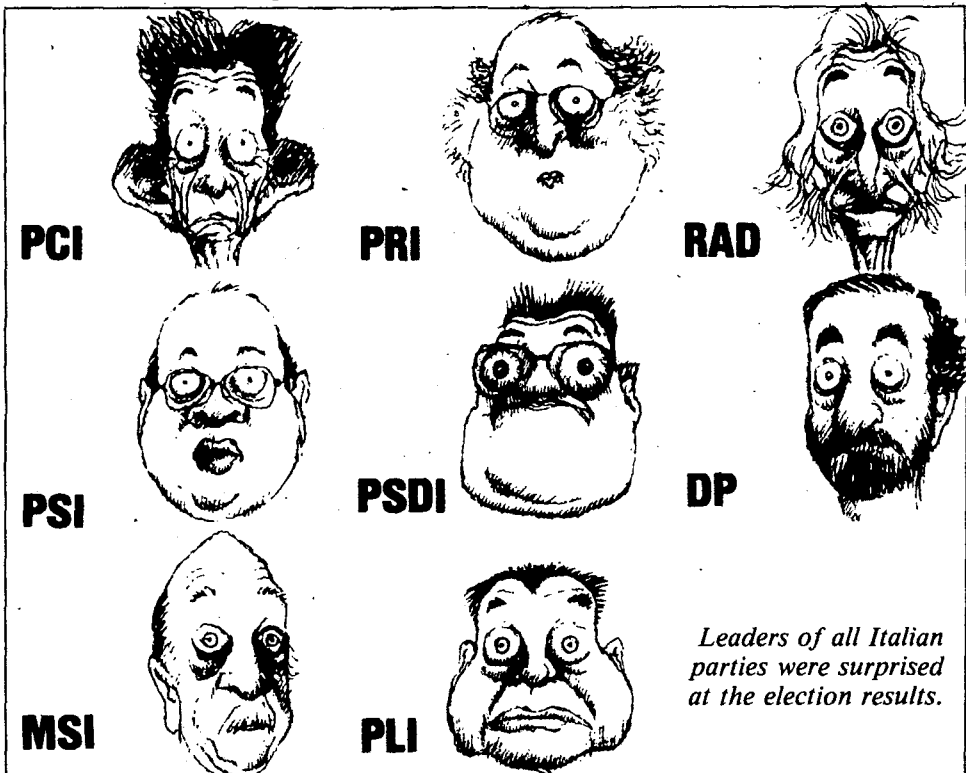
"But you know," he added, "Italy is a fatalistic country, a frontier country between the North and the South, the Mediterranean and Europe, and Italians have a tendency to think that they are not really masters of their fate."

It is this fatalism that Italian leaders are counting on so that they can ram through the stationing of American cruise missiles. Leaders of the governmental parties have their own political reason, alluded to by Agnelli in the same interview. The Communist Party has to prove it has changed, to gain "reliability," he said. "But what proof can it give? In foreign policy, it has adopted a position toward the USSR that none of its fellow Communist parties has taken. And it did so with success. Hereafter, it must define itself on the question of the missiles...."

The Euromissiles came along just in time to provide a new "test" with which the government parties could flunk the PCI as ineligible to share government in a province of the American empire. Thus these parties can hope to go on dividing up government spoils among themselves for the next 35 years just as they have for the last 35 years.

Tied to this political consideration is the growing importance of the Italian arms industry, one of the few sectors of the economy that continues to show a profit. Italy is the world's fourth arms exporter—after the U.S., the USSR and France—and to keep this position in an increasingly competitive world market requires a government that will give priority to promoting arms sale contracts.

Italy manufactures helicopters and other medium-technology hardware mostly on U.S. license for export to Third World countries. This industry is heavily dependent on the U.S. both technologically and politically—which amounts to another good reason for keeping the PCI out of government forever. Yet even without government prospects, the PCI's popular support refuses to go away.



terrand appeared too Gaullist to provide the hoped-for encouragement to an Italian left alternative, the German left had been defeated just when it was really getting interesting. Thatcher had been triumphantly re-elected in Britain, Spanish Socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez was abandoning his opposition to NATO and to the Euromissiles and European leaders had come back from the Williamsburg summit looking like yokels after letting an economic summit be transformed into endorsement of the Pentagon's global strategic concept.

At home, labor had been weakened by unemployment and there was no possible political alternative since Socialist Party (PSI) leader Bettino Craxi had firmly ruled out any left coalition with the Communist Party (PCI). So in the June 26-27 national elections here, the PCI was supposed to start its rapid descent toward oblivion while Italians decided which conservative sauce they were to be eaten with.

It didn't exactly turn out that way, which is why there was rejoicing at Communist Party headquarters in the historic center of Rome as the returns came in. "Europe is turning to the right, but we are Italian, thank God!" someone exclaimed. Contrary to all predictions, it was Christian Democracy, not the Communist Party, that was going down to historic defeat.

When the count was in for both the House and the Senate, the DC had dropped from more than 38 percent in the 1979 elections to a postwar low of about 32.5

In Craxi's home town, Milan, the PSI with 11 percent of the vote was overshadowed by the Republican Party, which jumped from 5 percent four years ago to 12 percent. The Socialists' overall increase from about 10 to 11 percent was meager reward for all of Craxi's efforts.

It was Craxi who brought down the coalition government headed by Amintore Fanfani in hope of strengthening his party's bargaining position in the distribution of cabinet posts and other spoils of office. The PSI's position is indeed strengthened in relation to a weakened DC, but so is the position of former premier Giovanni Spadolini's Republican Party, with 5 percent nationwide and, moreover, the traditional confidence of the "enlightened bourgeoisie" of northern Italy's private sector economy.

What's happening here?

The Italian election results cannot be explained without reference to concepts like "class" and "capitalism." These concepts are taboo to mainstream commentators, hence their discomfort with the Italian election. Basically, the main underlying factor is a consensus on the part of the entire Western bourgeoisie for policies designed to bring about economic recovery in terms of assuring profitable returns for investment capital, but not in terms of creating jobs or meeting social needs.

As labor leader Bruno Trentin has pointed out, there is no longer any equivalence between economic development and employment, between recov-

BRITAIN

By Tariq Ali

L O N D O N

LAST MONTH'S GENERAL ELECTION results in Britain were no surprise. What is surprising is that many people appear unaware that the sweeping Conservative victory could leave a devastating imprint on life here.

The Tories claimed their victory was the conservative equivalent of 1945, when Labour trounced Winston Churchill's wartime party. While there is more than a hint of demagoguery in this claim, there is little doubt that the postwar consensus established that year by Labour has now been repudiated by the New Model Conservative Party, under Margaret Thatcher's leadership. What is different from Labour's 1945 landslide is that Thatcher saw a slight decline in the popular vote since 1979 and the anti-Tory parties together obtained 59 percent of the votes.

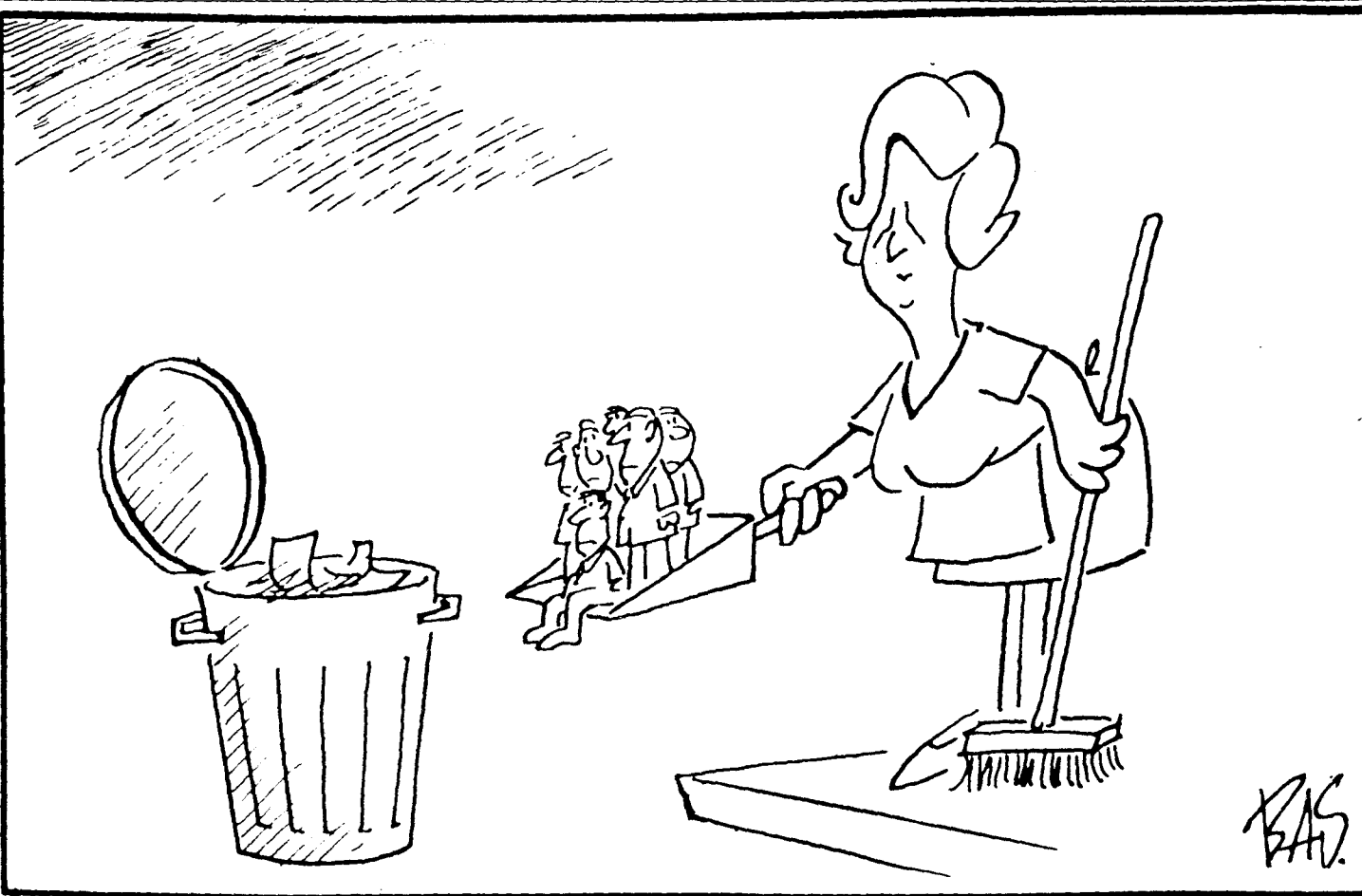
The two most noticeable election results have been the almost simultaneous changes occurring in Britain's two largest political parties. Thatcher has quickly utilized her base in London to force a debilitated band of industrial capitalists to toe the line, despite government-sponsored deindustrialization. The latter have been promised the pickings as the Tories start to denationalize or privatize the most profitable sectors of state-capitalism (British Telecom, the giant telecommunications network, is first on the list). Along with her defeat of the Tory's patrician wing, the brutal sacking of Francis Pym (senior Tory leader and former foreign secretary) symbolizes Thatcher's determination to end the long period of harmony between the nascent bourgeoisie and the aristocracy established after the monarchy was restored and the English Republic destroyed in the last decades of the 17th century.

There is a definite whiff of McCarthyism in the air here. Thatcher's second term threatens to be much nastier than the first, and not just for those who are out of work. There have already been hints that the political views of schoolteachers, polytechnic and university lecturers as well as those of media people will be closely monitored. Civil servants have already been warned that membership in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) could adversely affect their jobs in the so-called "sensitive sectors" of certain ministries.

During the election campaign, slick and smarmy Thatcherite Cecil Parkinson, chairman of the Conservative Party, pledged that "we are going to drive out extreme left-wingers out of British politics." This was a coded reference to the Bennite left inside the Labour Party that, despite losing nationally, still controls a number of important local governments, such as London and Sheffield. The leader of the Greater London Council (the nearest British equivalent to a mayor of New York), Ken Livingstone, recently announced that the focus of battle against the Tories must move in extra-parliamentary directions if they are going to be stopped.

Meanwhile, as post-election blues are replaced with semi-permanent despondency, one can discern three crucial issues, all interrelated, that have been raised by the election results. The first is the future of the Labour Party. Since the '30s and '40s, the anti-Tory coalition has been constituted inside the Labour Party. This coalition was badly damaged with the defection of the former right-wing Labour cabinet ministers who formed the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) and aligned themselves with the Liberals. This split led to Thatcher's election to a second term and a catastrophic decline in Labour's share of the vote.

What is the future of the Labour Party now that Michael Foot has announced his decision to vacate the leadership in October? The choice of a successor is sadly limited. A major tragedy of this election stunned millions of Labour supporters at approximately 2:30 the morning of June 11, when the results from



Gloom and doom: Labour left faces an uncertain future

Bristol East were announced. Tony Benn, the only national leader capable of providing a socialist alternative to Thatcherism, had been defeated by an unknown Tory stockbroker. This was the result of a year of political scheming by Labour's right wing and its chief hatchet-man, John Golding, who through a series of sordid maneuvers had prevented Benn from running in a safe Labour constituency in Bristol.

At that moment on June 11, the mood of socialists throughout the country went from gloom to doom since they lost a major voice in national politics at a critical juncture. This feeling was expressed best in the Fleet Street daily *The Guardian* by features editor Richard Gott. He wrote that Benn and Livingstone were Labour's only credible alternatives to the Tories. But instead of recognizing this, he argued, "the choice is between a Welsh gas-

There is a whiff of McCarthyism in the air. Political views of teachers will be monitored.

bag and a Yorkshire windbag." He was referring to Neal Kinnock and Roy Hattersley, the Batman/Robin duo currently being touted by the media as Labour's "dream-ticket" for party leader and deputy leader. This ticket is possibly a "dream" for the British establishment, but for socialists it is a nightmare. During the election campaign, Thatcher made many references to the Labour Party as if it were some form of preservative, expressing the hope that it would return to "moderation" and help to "make our politics much more like those of the U.S."

On the political spectrum, Kinnock is left of center, while Hattersley is to the right. Both are glib career politicians. Kinnock built his media reputation by vigorously opposing Benn during the

deputy leadership campaign of 1981.

Of course, they are in reality a non-choice. How revealing of capitalist democracy that it is the only one acceptable to the arbiters of British politics. It is almost as if the British state is saying to the Labour Party: "You have been a central pillar of stability for me. Over the last few years you have tried to escape my bear-hug. These two boys could bring you back."

The same old story.

This is a depressingly familiar view. Kinnock victorious would bring back Wilsonism without Wilson. A triumph for Hattersley would mean Callaghanism minus Callaghan. It is true that Wilson led Labour to victory on three occasions, but the policies of Labour in office (under him and Callaghan) also paved the way for Thatcherism. This memory has yet to be obliterated from working-class consciousness. Neither Kinnock nor Hattersley—updated mutants of those two former Labour leaders—will be able to resolve this crisis of strategy.

The roots of this crisis lie in Labour's inability to win back so far the employed skilled workers. A majority of them voted against Labour this time around. Only 35 percent stayed loyal to their old party, while 39 percent voted Tory and the remainder switched to the SDP/Liberal alliance. Thus it can be argued that the election marked the beginning of the political disintegration of the Labour movement here. This was best symbolized by electoral results in Corby and Barrow in Furness. Both of these traditional bastions of Labour power had long been almost impregnable. But Corby had recently witnessed the closing of its steel plant, and any anticipated backlash had been prevented by Conservative firmness coupled with seemingly handsome redundancy payments. Barrow-in-Furness was the home of Vickers armaments factory, which will get more contracts when Britain buys Trident missiles. On election day both towns returned a Tory member of Parliament.

This reflects the slow and not unpredictable death of Labourism—the traditional ideology of British social-democracy. The new debate inside the Labour

Party revolves around whether this ideology should be resuscitated or whether the political and economic situation demands a New Model Labour Party that is committed to radical democracy and socialism. The first course is favored by most trade union leaders, who seem unaware that the foundation of their house is under attack and that a well-heeled gang has already split with much of the old furniture.

During the last three decades Labour has relied so extensively on the British political system to return it to power that it has forgotten the ABCs of political organization. So the craft of becoming a political party will have to be learned all over again if the gains of Thatcherism are to be reversed. Britain now has three explicitly pro-capitalist parties. If the Labour Party remains permanently mortgaged to Labourism, it will die a slow but painful death. Kinnock and Hattersley might provide the facade of a temporary restabilization, but this would crumble either just before or just after the 1988 election.

A related problem is the theory question of electoral reform. Britain's antiquated single-member district system has long been considered an anomaly in the rest of capitalist Europe. It now seems like an outrage. Thatcher's "landslide" was based on a 30.8 percent turnout of the electorate and 42 percent of the votes cast. Thus the majority of British voters cast their ballots against the Tories. Considering these numbers, all the talk about a mandate from the British people rings hollow. If Labour had received the same number of votes as the Tories and had attempted to implement its non-nuclear defense policies, the outcry would have been heard all the way across the Atlantic. The common Labour argument against any form of proportional representation is that it produces "permanent coalitions." But it is in the party's long-term interests to argue for a system of representation that is more reflective of the electorate.

The example of Sweden and Austria over the last five decades is a refutation in itself, but there is a further and more relevant point. In a sense every Labour government has been a *sui generis* coalition against the Tories. It is the breakup of this old coalition that has produced the present impasse.

Labour is in every sense at the crossroads. Stoutly defending the *status quo ante*, many of its parliamentary leaders are like the Bourbon monarchs of old—learning and forgetting nothing. It would be a major tragedy if they waited for further debacles before altering course. ■

Tariq Ali is an active member of the Hornsey Labour Party and is on the editorial board of the New Left Review.

Kehler

Continued from page 7

It will never be too late to get a freeze. It will simply be more difficult as we get further and further into these new weapons, but never too late. At any point down the road, it will always be a matter of generating sufficient political will to get the arms race stopped. It will take more political will once we have these new weapons in place.

People need to keep in mind that the campaign is still very young. One of our biggest problems is expectations, unrealistic expectations. The arms race has gone on with enormous built-in momentum for nearly 40 years. Who ever thought we would stop it in two? It's a ludicrous proposition. The danger is that people are going to conclude that somehow what we have done hasn't worked. The fact is that what we have done has worked very well. We just haven't done enough.

There has been some debate within the freeze campaign and the peace movement at large as to whether the movement should concentrate on passing the symbolic freeze resolution or focus specifically on deployment of the Euromissiles. Where does the debate stand now? First, let's be clear. The freeze resolution is not non-binding. It's binding. It's a joint resolution, which, unlike a concur-

rent resolution, becomes the law of the land if passed by both houses and signed by the president. If vetoed, it can be overridden by Congress. It goes the same route as any other bill. It can be the law of this land, if we generate enough political will and enough votes in Congress.

There are two reservations that people in the campaign have about getting into any specific issues. One is that we will be vulnerable to the charge of unilateralism, even when opposing a system that deserves to be opposed on its own merits. The second reason is that even if we approach specific weapons systems in a bilateral way—and we have formulated some proposals for doing that—we will begin to lose the focus on the comprehensive freeze on all weapons systems in a way that will lose us the popular appeal the freeze has had.

For me this is a greater reservation. We've had efforts to combat specific systems in this country for many years. Even when they are successful, as with the B-1 bomber, the weapon comes back at us, or it is replaced with another weapon that is even more dangerous. If it seems like we are slipping away from the comprehensive focus, getting bogged down in specific weapons systems, I think we will lose some of our popular support, and we will be playing into the hands of the proponents of these weapon systems, who know that even if we win one, eventually they can tire us out on the weapon-by-weapon approach.

Despite these reservations, we feel that we can't entirely fail to address

these new developments because if not stopped, or at least suspended, they will make it more difficult to achieve a bilateral, comprehensive freeze. The reason we did not target the MX is that they are not about to deploy the MX. But they are about to deploy the Cruise and Pershing 2. It is a part of the mounting crisis we are heading toward in Europe.

We are encouraging local freeze groups to spend a portion of their energies and activities this summer and fall on the Euromissile question as a high priority. And we will approach this in the most bilateral way possible, tying it in every way to the achievement of a freeze. We happen to believe that not only must the Cruise and Pershing not be deployed, but the Soviets must take an initiative to reduce substantially their SS-20s.

Overall, there is a triple-track strategy. It's my own concoction. The first track—and the main track—is the binding resolution that will give us a freeze or, at least, lead to the U.S. government proposing a freeze. The second and third track are both enabling tracks. The second is designed to prevent the undermining of the freeze by the introduction of dangerous, destabilizing new weapons systems, which would make achieving a freeze more difficult. On this second track, we will be working on the Cruise and Pershing. One can argue that, for the same reason, we should include the MX on that track. I have my reservations about whether we made the wisest decision in not including the MX. But

the story on the MX is definitely not over.

The third track has to do with the 1984 elections. We are planning to do everything we can to ensure that we have a more pro-freeze administration and Congress in office in 1985, which would enable us to proceed with track one.

My own view is that we can't do track one alone. We can't ignore the realities of weapons going forward.

In order to keep things going, doesn't the movement need periodic victories, especially at a time when it may be handed a few defeats?

I'm not sure that anything can be done. I think people have to recognize, as some of us have been saying all along, that in the long run this campaign has to have its ups and downs. The question is, do we have a long-term staying power to continue building momentum and eventually achieve our objective? And that's an open question.

For example, there are large areas of the country that are still not well organized for the freeze. Were they organized we would have seen a very different result in the House, a much quicker, easier victory, and perhaps a different result in the Senate. We have a field organizers project that we are trying to raise money for, to send field organizers into these areas to catalyze freeze support.

There are no guarantees that any method will succeed. I certainly wouldn't deny that the route we have chosen is fraught with danger and difficulties, but I don't know a better method. I'm not saying that direct action or civil disobedience is not very much part of the eventual solution, part of the mix of approaches that are necessary. I don't know of any one approach all by itself that is more likely to succeed than the one that attempts to use the democratic machinery available throughout the country to change public policies.

Is there perhaps a desire on the part of some movement leaders to be taken seriously by the powerful in Washington, D.C., that drives them into the arena of power politics?

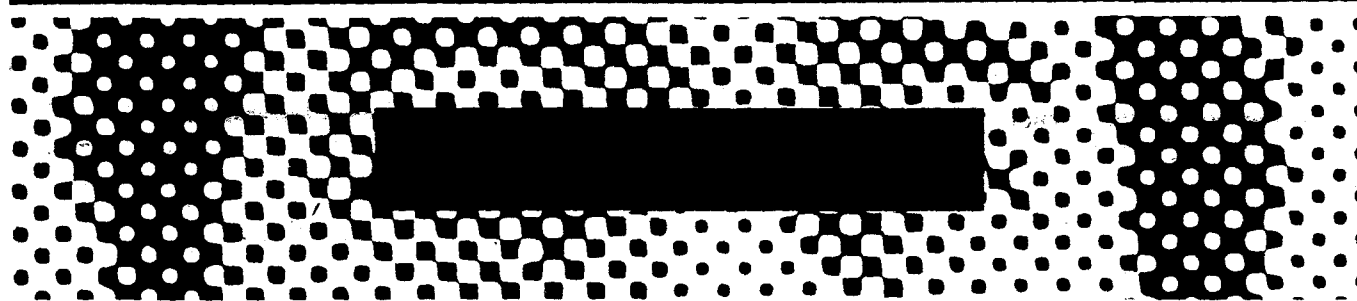
The question is not whether we want to be taken seriously, but whether the movement as a whole is becoming too infused with a Washington insider expert's point of view.

I think that's a constant danger. We deal with that in the campaign daily. We always try to balance the "Washington" perspective with the "grassroots" perspective. We are aware that the Washington view is a powerful, narrow and conservative perspective, but as part of the mix it is useful.

One of the criticisms that I have of the European movement—and it varies from country to country—is that in general there has been a failure to include the perspective of sympathetic insiders and a failure to engage the political system on its own terms. The movement in Europe has been so much focused on an alternative, direct-action approach that, I think, it has hurt their effectiveness.

—D.C.

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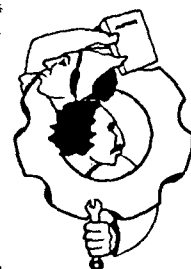
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CHILE

Copper union leads movement against Pinochet's rule

By John Dinges

SANTIAGO

IN MAY AND JUNE CHILEANS TOOK to the streets in what amounted to by far the largest protests in the almost 10-year-old dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. For the first time, Pinochet's political survival has been placed in doubt. His base of middle class, business and military support has shrunk to the point that only the latter is now considered firmly behind him.

The protest movement appears to have reconciled much of the bitter division and political polarization among Chileans that arose during President Salvador Allende's experiment in pursuing a "parliamentary way" to socialism in the early '70s. In national days of protest on May 11, and especially the most recent on June 14, affluent and slum neighborhoods rang with the loud banging of pots and pans while leftists, centrists and rightists together signed petitions asking for a return to democracy.

The primary impetus for the protests has been the devastating economic crisis, blamed almost across the board on the inflexible dogmatism of Pinochet's young monetarist economists—nicknamed the "Chicago boys" for their training by Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago. Elimination of banking regulations, interest controls, tariffs and for-

crees allowing him to remain in power until 1989 and postponing independent elected government until 1997.

With the economic crisis uniting his opponents—even those on the right now argue that a democratic system would have forced the government to change its economic course long before it was over-



Only the military is still firmly behind Pinochet.

whelmed by the present economic disaster—Pinochet responded erratically. He railed in speeches against the "Senores Rusos" (Russians) spending millions to plot against him and called his critics in the business community "traitors."

But the deep discontent of the Chilean people in general remained latent until called into the streets in May by the newly militant leadership of the country's largest union. The Confederation of Copper Workers, which set off a national union unity movement against the government reminiscent of Poland's Solidarity, left the Chilean political parties playing catch-up to regain their traditional leadership.

One man, Rodolfo Seguel, the copper union president, has come to symbolize the opposition movement. The 29-year-old high school graduate—sometimes described as Chile's Lech Walesa—was elected to his first union post only seven months ago. A month after his election as president—originally seen as a stand-in for a veteran union leader prevented from taking office by a provision of the government's restrictive labor laws—Seguel galvanized the union's 24,000 members into approval of a program translating their economic grievances into a general call for a return to democracy as the only definitive solution to workers' problems.

A call for a May 11 copper strike was squelched by military maneuvers near the mines, but the government action backfired. Seguel transformed the strike call into a call for all Chileans to protest and said that similar protests would be held monthly—on or about the 11th of each month—until the government agrees to begin the quick return to democracy.

On May 11, thousands banged pots and pans—the symbol of economic hardship originally used to voice protest against Allende 10 years ago—and kept their children home from school. Two people were shot by police during street demonstrations, and the government rounded up thousands in raids on poor neighborhoods. Two weeks later, the copper workers, led by Seguel, met with four union organizations representing almost all of Chile's organized labor and forged the groups—traditionally divided

along ideological, partisan lines—into a National Workers Command. The Command called a new protest for June 14, and the political parties, which are in the process of creating a so-called multi-party coalition of opposition to Pinochet, signed on in support. Professional organizations—doctors, lawyers, journalists, nurses, teachers—issued a joint statement calling for profound changes and a return to democracy. The truck owners, who had played an instrumental role in the fall of Allende, declared their opposition to the government. It was a clear rebuilding of the disparate movement against Allende that the military had often referred to as justification for their takeover of the government.

In the June 14 protest, five people died of gunshot wounds inflicted by unidentified motorists firing on demonstrations. Seventeen others were wounded. In some



ership in the movement of national protest?

It wasn't me, but the Confederation of Copper Workers. The way was very simple. First of all, our organization has all political tendencies, from right to left. And we were always able to work within a good consensus. I learned that and wanted to bring the same thing to the rest of the union organizations. We were successful, and thus were able to achieve unity and create the National Workers Command.

The agreement we reached was that we cannot continue to live under a dictatorship as strong as the one to which we have been subjected for 10 years. And there is agreement about action, that we have to end the dictatorship with actions that are peaceful but at the same time demonstrative. We can't get rid of the dictatorship with weapons because we don't have weapons, nor with force because we are not advocates of force. But, yes, we can use peaceful actions—demonstrative actions—to show the government we are tired, that we are fed up and want to return to full democracy.

The final goal is the return to democracy. If that means the departure of this government, then so be it. You can also change some of the people in it. Don't make me say his name. Everybody knows who he is. And many of the people who work closely with him will have to leave.

What government do you want to follow this one?

We have also reached agreement that we should have a period of transition, of at least two years, in which to re-establish many things in the country. That period will be one in which there is an agreement between civilians and military to govern for a fixed time, after which they will return to where they belong and there will be elections and parliament. Then it will be up to the political party that wins the largest majority to form the government.

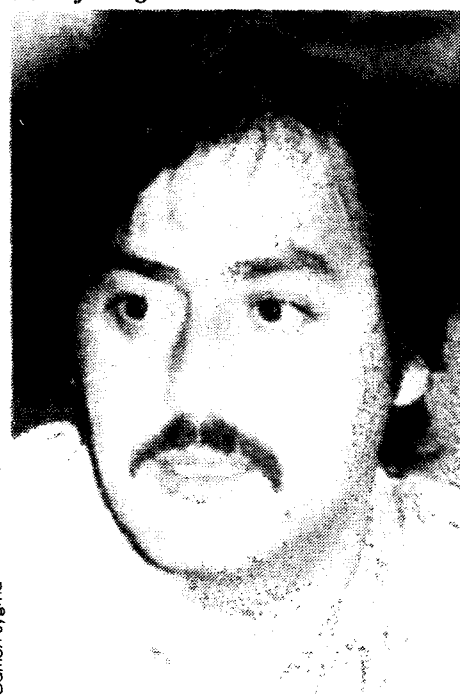
How long have you been working in this movement?

I was elected to a union leadership post last December 13. On January 15, I was elected to a national office [in the union], and on February 22, I was elected president.

How did you rise so fast?

The people are asking for very strong, very abrupt changes, and they want leaders who will be honest enough to tell the workers the truth about what is happening.

Continued on page 22



foreign currency restrictions led to a dam-burst of foreign private bank loans and imports of consumer goods, giving the appearance of an economic boom from 1978-81. But when the bills came due, the country owed \$18 billion in foreign debt—the highest per capita debt in Latin America.

Almost 4,000 businesses, inundated by cheap imports, had gone bankrupt, 30 percent of Chileans were unemployed (including thousands subsisting for years on rock-bottom wages of government emergency employment programs) and production plummeted 14 percent last year and continues to drop.

In the past Pinochet kept his opponents divided and off balance by a combination of repression—5,000 executed in the days after the coup, 1,000 disappeared, thousands imprisoned and tortured, at least 10,000 political exiles banned from the country—and a decisive patriarchal style. He engineered a plebiscite in 1980 to approve a constitution and de-

cases, the gunmen and their cars were linked to police operations by eyewitnesses who saw them talking on two-way radios and reconnoitering with police vans. But the protest had its greatest impact in its peaceful, planned actions—the massive clatter in neighborhoods all over the city and streets clogged with cars honking in protest.

Twelve hours after I interviewed Seguel at his union headquarters in Santiago the afternoon of June 14, five men in civilian clothes broke down the door of the house where he was sleeping and arrested him. There were no identification cards or arrest warrants, and at first opposition leaders feared Seguel would be "disappeared"—the secret police tactic of arrest and murder followed by government denial that the victim had ever been in custody. The next day, however, Seguel appeared in jail and was subsequently charged with seeking the overthrow of the government. His arrest led the copper union to call a 24-hour warning strike that lasted in some mines more than three days. It was the first time the \$4-million-a-day copper industry was halted during the military government, although workers at the largest mine, Chuquibambilla, procrastinated and ended up not joining the strike.

Then, in a move political observers saw as precipitous, the truck owners called a national general strike on two days' notice for June 23. The government clamped on strict censorship, forbidding radio and TV stations and the press to mention even the words "strike" or "protest." There was little chance for a national strike movement to get organized, even if the political parties had been enthusiastic—which they weren't.

Although the National Workers Command officially joined in the strike call, few workers actually stayed home from work. The taxi and bus owners—part of a coalition led by the truck owners—also paid lip service to the strike call but kept most of their vehicles on the road. The truck strike fizzled after two days.

The following interview with Seguel was conducted on June 14, a day of national protest.

How did you come to a position of lead-

Says Copper Workers Union President Rodolfo Seguel, "We have agreed we can use peaceful actions to show the government we're fed up and want to return to full democracy."



Laughing at the unlaughable

By Alfie Kohn

AN ACTOR DRESSED AS A huge cockroach appears on stage and reads the evening news. Humans have finally blown themselves up, he reports, but "food distribution [for us insects] will not be a problem, except perhaps for the vegetarians among us."

A folk group switches from the standard ballads to a new ditty, entitled "The Atomic Two-Step." "I've got a stash of Campbell's soup that will last an eterni-tyyy," they croon.

A 30-page pamphlet resembling a government manual offers helpful advice for surviving World War III. "Depending on your distance from ground zero, you could experience temperatures of up to 4000° Centigrade," it cautions. "Why not prepare for this by spending 10 to 15 minutes a day in your clothes dryer?"

Across the country, writers and performers have found nuclear war a ripe topic for humor. Or, more accurately, given their political orientation, they have found a new strategy for dealing with an issue that already concerns them. In any case, more people are "not only thinking about the unthinkable, but laughing at the unlaughable," as San Francisco improv comic Charlie Varon puts it.

Together with Fran Peavey, Varon has developed a series of sketches and taken them on the road to conventions of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Association for Humanistic Psychology and Colorado's Libertarian Party, among other audiences. One bit has Varon playing a driving instructor who now coaches nuclear weapons users. "When two missiles reach an intersection at the same time, which has the right of way?" he quizzes the audience. "(A) The one heading from east to west? (B) The one heading from west to east? or (C) The one with the better human rights record?"

Fit to print?

But is this really a fit subject for humor? How can we laugh at the potential extinction of the human race? Fran and Charlie defend the idea in terms of aiding the disarmament movement. "It's hard to sustain the gaze. Activists are especially susceptible to psychic numbing. Laughter

frees up energy and allows you to act creatively. That's why I'm interested in comedy," Fran concludes. "I'm a strategist."

Compare the refreshing relief of laughter as a response to nuclear war with other people's tactics, they urge. Too much motivating people through fear "creates a powerless, impotent mass," according to Fran, and this is exemplified by a character in their skits—a well-known lecturer they call "Helen Holocaust." Like many others working on the issue, she has no use for humor. The arms race is not funny, period.

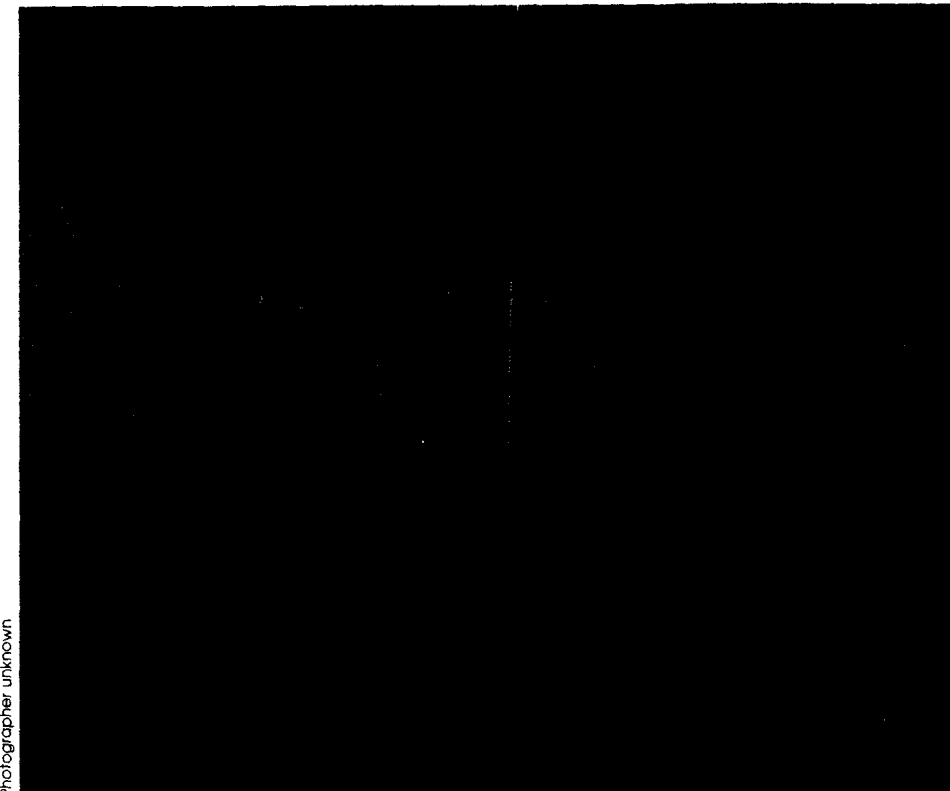
This is just the reaction Tony Hendra got from segments of the antinuclear movement when his brilliantly funny parody pamphlet *Meet Mr. Bomb* was released not long ago. "To be humorless and pompous about the whole thing makes as many enemies as friends," he believes. Formerly a performer with Monty Python and then editor of the *National Lampoon*, Hendra turned to writing parody because of its devastating effectiveness. "Human beings who can sit around and construct scenarios on what is clearly inhuman deserve ridicule, and satire is a far more dangerous weapon than straight attack. Your opposition above all doesn't want to be laughed at."

Meet Mr. Bomb grew out of the lead editorial in Hendra's *Off the Wall Street Journal*, published last year. In it, nuclear war was defended as zero-based budgeting at its best. The current piece, subtitled "A Practical Guide to Nuclear Extinction," is written in the hearty colloquial style of government brochures aimed at the average citizen. "Mr. Bomb will be extending to many, many more Americans than ever before an honor that to date we have limited to our fighting forces," writes "Ronald Reagan" in a preface. The pamphlet reassures us that armageddon really isn't so bad as all that. Says one caption: "[A nuclear] blast is actually no worse than if a 500,000-ton baseball, hit on a line drive, were to strike your home."

The easiest target for satire is civil defense planning, which often resembles self-parody to begin with. Steve Ben Israel, a New York comedian with a delivery that recalls Lenny Bruce, remembers



HUMOR ON THE LEFT



being told, "Just in case there was a thermonuclear war, all I had to do was go underneath my desk and I'd be OK. I still have my desk. I'd suggest you go back to your old neighborhood and get your old desk, too."

A number of songs, such as "The Atomic Two-Step," a creation of the Spatz family in New England, lampoon civil defense in similar style. Fred Small, a singer/songwriter who gave up a career as an environmental attorney to perform full time, recently recorded a single called "Dig a Hole in the Ground":

We're sure to give you notice up to seven days before.

But it's wise to recognize the warning signs of nuclear war.

If the temperature is rising in a flash of blinding light,

Grab your toothbrush and a flashlight and shut the windows tight.

Comedy of the absurd.

Instead of frontal assault, some comic efforts point up the horrors of nuclear war by way of showing the absurdity of protective measures. This is the thrust of *Meet Mr. Bomb*, which suggests canaries will do nicely as radiation detectors (though "you will need several, as each canary can only detect radiation once"). Steve Ben Israel takes the same approach when he soothes us with the news that "radiation is just like having an x-ray. All day."

Other jokes rely on understatement, such as the bumpersticker that reminds us "One Nuclear Bomb Can Ruin Your Whole Day" or the cartoon featuring a lunch counter customer who, noticing a mushroom cloud out the window, tells the cook, "Better make that to go." On the other hand, Berkeley's Plutonium Players, prefer a complete reversal, adopting personnas to invite ridicule. Creators of the Reagan for Shah Committee and the righteously anti-feminist Ladies Against Women, the Players' characters think nuclear war is just fine. "We want nukes! We want war! We think oil's worth fighting for!" they chant. One of their characters, a Dr. Mel Practice, defends apathy as a means to stress reduction.

Father of nuclear comedy.

One of the first performers to bring black humor to its *reductio ad absurdum*

was mathematician-turned-cult-fig Tom Lehrer. Just about the time Steve Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove* was released, he recorded "Who's Next?" and "Long, Mom," which invited uneasy laughter about nuclear proliferation and World War III. The latter, sung to a bouncy tune, ended with: "Rememb



mommy, I'm off to get a commie, send me a salami/ And try to survive somehow. I'll look for you when the war is over—an hour and a half from now!" Almost a decade earlier, Lehrer had composed a gospel parody called "We Will All Go Together When We Go," the cleverest short treatment date:

We will all bake together when we bake.

There'll be nobody present at the wake.

With complete participation in that grand incineration:

Nearly three billion hunks of well-done steak.

Lehrer, who no longer seems to find such topics appropriate for humor, has ceased writing comic songs. But the

who have carried on his legacy are quick to point out that they are by no means trivializing nuclear war. "The last thing we are doing is being flippant," says Hendra. "On the contrary, I think humor brings home the point more bluntly and clearly than any number of statistics."

Gail Williams of the Plutonium Players agrees: "Because something's put in the framework of humor does not mean it's not serious, too," she stresses. This, the central paradox of black humor, is often lost on those who are easily offended. "If a group on the left believes it has the right answer, the word, the correct line on issues, it's almost a barrier against humor," her partner Selma Vincent told *Socialist Review*. (Saul Alinsky once wrote that "a sense of humor is incompatible with the complete acceptance of any dogma.")

Talking to these performers, one quickly realizes that they are not comics who jumped on the nuclear bandwagon to get an easy, topical laugh, as likely to be joking tomorrow about Pac Man or cocaine. Most of these people consider themselves activists first, and the standards they use to evaluate their nuclear comedy are more utilitarian than aesthetic.

"Our hope is that people will emerge from the theater with their minds active," says Carol Bemmels, of Boston's Underground Railway troupe, whose current show includes the cockroach news report. "If people feel like they've been run over by a steamroller after a presentation on nuclear war, they're not empowered." Whether it is old-fashioned Swiftian satire, inventive role-playing or sick humor on the printed page, the idea is to refresh the already-converted and arouse everyone else.

Sick, sick, sick.

Among the sickest of the current offerings is Victor Langer and Walter Thomas' *Nuclear War Fun Book*, ostensibly aimed at children and featuring large type and appealing pictures. It consists of a collection of post-holocaust games and activities, including "Mark the Mutant," "Radioactive Tag" ("You're it! Try to contaminate others.") and "Nuclear Flash Shadow Pictures." A grotesque illustration of an irradiated person is captioned "What's Wrong with This Picture?" and children are later invited to "see how many interesting and useful objects you can make from all the differently shaped human and animal bones you find."

This is sick humor—but sick humor with a point to it, informed and redeemed by social criticism. Hendra distinguishes dead baby jokes, which seem to him not merely tasteless but unfunny, from the "Vietnamese Baby Book" he created a decade ago for the *Lampoon* with Michael O'Donoghue. Their piece was at once horrifying and hilarious—and also a devastating criticism of American brutality.

For Fred Small, though, such humor is not quite enough. He's happy to get his audiences laughing at the absurdity of nuclear evacuation planning, but he doesn't want them to leave feeling smug or cynical. "The point is to make people feel hopeful, to create a vision of peace, too—not just oppose the horror or war."

Alfie Kohn has taught a course on humor at Tufts University and lectured on "Why Fanatics Aren't Funny."



Mr. Breakfast

with Calvin

By Jay Walljasper

I HAD CLEARLY UNDERESTIMATED the breadth of *Nation* columnist and *New Yorker* staff writer Calvin Trillin's fame—a miscalculation that became apparent the minute I casually mentioned his name to the proprietor of a not-so-swank downtown Chicago restaurant where I was to meet the author for a breakfast interview.

This restaurateur looked like someone who might have spent the bulk of his formative years leaning over tattered pool tables in some dimly lit storefront; in other words, not your average *New Yorker* subscriber—not to even mention *The Nation*.

But upon learning that Calvin Trillin would shortly be strolling into his establishment, his eyes lit up in the same way as those of a talented 19-year-old short-stop upon being told the unfamiliar gentleman in the third row of the bleachers is a scout for the New York Yankees.

Obviously, Trillin's status as a populist gourmet (*Third Helpings*, Ticknor & Fields, \$12.95, is his most recent exploration of distinctive regional food outlets and customs in the U.S.) was well-known in this part of town. The proprietor hovered around our booth throughout breakfast, seeking assurances that Trillin's Denver omelette was adequately fluffy, and hoping to seem colorful enough of a character so that he and his restaurant might someday be lauded on the pages of the *New Yorker*. In the moments when he was attending to other duties, diners strolled over to the table with paper napkins that Trillin obligingly signed.

Although I knew that he occasionally turns up on late night talk shows and that his by-line has been a fixture of the *New Yorker* for nearly two decades, this hero's welcome in the pre-noon hours of a windy Saturday took me by complete surprise.

I thought he was still a well-kept secret of the literary-political-intellectual crowd—a clever writer who employs sly humor and a sharp instinct for human absurdity to point out the unegalitarian excesses of the Reagan age as well as showing the humorous side of American life in general, (including well-intentioned pokes at leftists who sometimes slip into something resembling self-parody). In short, Trillin struck me as the left's sophisticated retort to Bob Hope.

His *Nation* columns (some of which have been collected in an excellent volume titled *Uncivil Liberties*, Anchor, \$7.95, paper) deal with issues ranging from the first lady's school days ("a personality that has led geologists to estimate that the surface of Mrs. Reagan is composed of from six to eight inches of permafrost") to literary lunches (he proposes a regulation that, "the advance for a book must be larger than the check for the lunch at which it was discussed") to modern day versions of the Okies:

...John McAtee Jr. of Greenwich, Conn., who said his salary of \$150,000 a

year as the new acting head of the U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation was so far below a living wage that he might be forced to move out of Greenwich. Yes, ...everyone who makes less than \$150,000 a year might be forced to move out of Greenwich—moving west in a station wagon caravan that I thought of as a preppy Grapes of Wrath.... I figure that they've made it about as far as the suburbs of Chicago now. They set up their sad Greenie encampment outside of Lake Forest, and try to make a supper out of a little cold breast of chicken and Chablis eaten on the tailgates of their station wagons.

But it appears that Trillin's subtle yet sometimes slicing humor appeals far beyond the select readership of *The Nation*—"150 librarians and 12 unreconstituted Trotskyites," as he jokingly refers to it.

"I'll say the same things on the Carson show as I say in *The Nation*, often about politics," he noted. "I'll say terrible things about Haig, awful things about Reagan. And the audience laughs. These tourists who line up to see the show aren't supposed to be *Nation* readers."

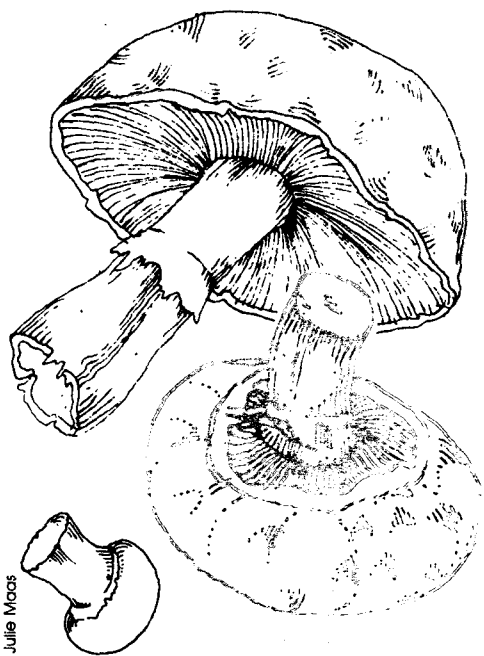
"But I really don't know if the people reading the pinko sheet are laughing, too," he added. "The left is not a natural ground for humor, although late at night many of them are very funny. Left humorists are like Republican folksingers—Republican folksingers are animal acts."

Trillin addresses this situation in his columns by means of a dour character who is quick to point out the political impurities and decadent tendencies of any idea proposed.

"Harold the Committed would say that the minute they laugh, then you [left journalists] are not doing your job. You're entertaining the bourgeoisie."

Trillin noted that people generally expect sober, serious policy discussion from the left—but he aims for something totally different. "I treat small matters as if they were important," he said, "and important matters as if they were small."

Trillin's style of humor mixes insight with irreverence—not only about the outrages committed by the right but the totems cherished by the left—which makes his comic commentary much more than partisan snickering. He provides tonic for the troops but his humor also appeals to a broad audience—perhaps planting seeds of doubt about Ronald Reagan or the need for nuclear deterrence in the minds of those who the left's most persuasive theoreticians might never have the opportunity to reach.



LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PROGRESS

ENCLOSED IS MY RENEWAL FOR TWO years. I enjoy *ITT* as a view from another, fresher angle.

I find the letters column extremely interesting but am depressed that there is so much inner turmoil. If a majority of Congress were ever to be elected socialist it would do well for the right simply to stand aside until the inter-familia socialist carnage was over.

In the U.S. the right continues to choose the field of combat and the left continues to flail away at the image of the "evil empire." Would it not be well to take a page from the right? Reagan defends the dictatorships by insisting that they are making progress toward human rights, etc., *ad nauseum*. Could it not be argued that the Eastern bloc socialist countries are also making progress in these mentioned areas and that things are indeed much better behind the iron curtain than under Stalin? We could then settle down to the main task and husband our time and strength for that effort.

—G.I. Patterson
Graeagle, Calif.

GAYS FOR WASHINGTON

AS OPENLY GAY AND LESBIAN CAMPAIGN workers for Harold Washington in both the primary and general elections, we were surprised to learn that our vote "went for Jane Byrne" and that we "were not a discernable factor" (*ITT*, June 15). We were not mere closeted supporters, but poll watchers, precinct workers, area chairs and ward coordinators. Gays and Lesbians United for Washington held a fundraising party, ran ads, wrote articles and met with representatives of the campaign. We are confident that our work was essential to the campaign in the north lakefront wards and that we raised the new administration's consciousness of gay and lesbian issues. We are proud that our involvement helped set a new standard for the level of open gay and lesbian participation in a major Chicago election.

It is clear that not all gays and lesbians were Washington supporters—the editorial writer for *GayLife* was not a supporter until the general election. We have no sound basis for judging the full extent of gay and lesbian support for Washington. We do not criticize *ITT*'s campaign coverage—the best in the media. But our community cannot be characterized as a monolithic bloc on the basis of *ITT*'s impressions and unstated assumptions.

—Tom Donelan, Area Chair (48th Ward)
Eric Nyblad, 49th Ward Coordinator (primary)
Tim Offut, Office Manager, 49th-50th Wards
Office, Abe Clott, Martha Fourt, Hannah Frisch, Jim Lovette, Michael Mahaley, Ron Sable, Kenneth Spatz, Elaine Wessel

POOR WOMEN AND NOW

I AM WRITING TO RESPOND TO Theresa Bergan's letter (*ITT*, June 15) pertaining to poor women and the women's movement.

Prior to a conference some time ago on the Urban Woman sponsored by the New York City chapter of NOW, I received a phone call from a NOW repre-

sentative (whose name I have forgotten) asking for a welfare speaker with "special" qualifications. I was asked that she not be white—she might be "too articulate"—(i.e., not me), that she not be black because she might be "too angry." Perhaps she could be Puerto Rican? She should not say anything political or analytical but confine herself to the subject of "what the women's movement has done for me."

Subsequently, I organized a multi-racial (black, white, Hispanic and Asian) "takeover" of the conference. Forty-odd welfare activists protested the insensitivity for poor women within the women's movement on the stage of the Washington Irving High School auditorium during the first major plenary. Our list of demands included supporting a welfare grant increase.

During this conference, we were informed that NOW did in fact have us on their agenda in the form of support for Medicaid abortions. It was understood by many activists, at least in New York, that underlying their position on Medicaid abortions was the fear that if it could be taken away from the poor, it could be taken away from everyone.

Following our takeover, Wilma Scott Heidi dispensed with her prepared speech. Moved to tears, she implored the audience to take us seriously, maintaining not only that we were representing our own interests as poor women, but that the poverty of so many women was a central issue to the liberation of women as a whole. It was clear to me that she was not among the "culprits" and I attempted to let her know how I felt about her statements afterward. (And I wondered what had happened to NOW....)

I could write of several similar unfortunate incidents between welfare mothers and the "women's movement." Yet we are part of the women's movement. In recent years, several prominent feminists (including Gloria Steinem, Robin Morgan, Bella Abzug and many others) have lent their support to us in a variety of ways.

1980 census data for New York State indicates a 78.2 percent increase over 1970 in the number of female householders with children under 18 living below the poverty level. This fact alone defines the direction the women's movement should take in the decades to come.

—Theresa Funicello
Brooklyn, N.Y.

RERUN

I READ KAREN NUSSBAUM'S ARTICLE on "Office high technology." I was very interested in the article, especially when she explained that the purpose of machines, computers and robots is to save labor. That was excellent. Then came, what is to be done, and all at once I was at the end of the article... and...it seemed like something was missing. Nussbaum left off explaining what we should fight for in our contracts.

If robots and computers are doing more and more work, then there is less and less work for each person to do. Fine. I hate work. Especially if it is the dull, dirty or dangerous kind. Machines should do that work. It seems to me the solution is to shorten the work week, spread out the remaining work, so that everyone gets a fair share. That can be done by shortening the work week to a 30-hour week, at 40 hours

pay. That's what I thought Nussbaum was getting to.

One hundred years ago, the work week was 60 hours long. With invention of the steam engine, factories and industry, millions were thrown out of work, while millions were overworked. Workers in Chicago went on strike for a 40-hour week at 60 hours pay and won. That is where our 40-hour week and May Day came from. Industrialization caused the week to be shortened and now computers and robots will make Monday a paid holiday, if they are under workers' control.

Most workers favor automation, provided they don't lose their income.

The reason the pay must remain the same is that, if the workers don't have wages with which to buy the products made by the robots, then the goods stop selling and the factory must stop producing.

A 30-hour week will create 20 million jobs, by spreading out the work more equally. That is how modern society adjusts to automation. Isn't it interesting how the issues raised by the Luddites of the 1880s keep coming back?

—Paul Kangas
San Francisco

LOCAL BORE

ROBERT SCHAEFFER'S REVIEW OF *Local Hero* (*ITT*, May 18) encouraged me to see the film. Luckily I chose the early discount show, but I still regret the two bucks and wasted time. *Local Hero* is boring, sexist, full of characters about whom I found it impossible to care.

Schaeffer wrote that the villagers "see oil development as an irresistible force, which they want to accept with as much dignity as possible." It's not clear they were informed of the details of the plan, but the reaction of 99 percent of the people was to get their representative Gordon to squeeze all the money he could out of the oil company. The only villager who shows love for the land and bay is Ben, the village eccentric who lives in a shack on the beach. This is the model of environmentalists that James Watt loves.

Burt Lancaster's character says to the viewer—look, oil moguls are human too! They like stars, they have personal problems, they see shrinks. The scenes with his therapist were foolish and unnecessary.

And last, but hardly least, we witness once again woman as sex object. Yes, one of the leading women is an intelligent marine biologist, but how are we introduced to her? She walks briskly on screen, removes her glasses, lets down her hair and takes off her work smock to reveal the bathing-suited, male-image "perfect" woman—blond, beautiful and no dummy either. The other main female character, Stella, whose talents appear to be sex and cooking, is presented in one scene as a piece of property that Mac and Gordon can bargain over.

Schaeffer calls this "an intelligent and purposefully modest environmental film." Schaeffer should not be writing film reviews if he thinks that films carry only one message.

—Ruth Benn
Northampton, Mass.

BATTERED WOMEN

I AM WRITING TO RESPOND TO SUSAN Osborn's review of *Women and Male Violence* by Susan Schechter (*ITT*, June 18). I found her dismissive tone toward Schechter's reflections on the role of activity in the historical development of the battered women's movement disturbing. Osborn's characterization of Schechter's history of the movement as "breathless and self-congratulatory" is a misrepresentation of a centrally important aspect of the work. I read these chapters as demonstrating to those outside the movement, especially younger people, that changes in attitudes and in-

stitutional behavior toward battered women (treatment by police, courts and social workers) did not just happen as society evolved but in fact resulted significantly from the organizing and activity of women. In teaching women's courses in Urban Studies more than six years, I often found students who believed that changes for women had somehow just occurred during the late '60s and '70s. Schechter's chronology of activity linked to results is an antidote to this passive view.

A further purpose of the historical chapters seemed to be to lay out the context of a movement to an area rapidly being defined as a social service in our society. By describing and analyzing the experiences of shelters around the country over 10 years Schechter provides a framework for evaluating their work. This telling of the stories of the development of community institutions is important in breaking the demoralizing isolation brought on by the problems and difficult choices endemic to running such programs. This raises issues for discussion for people in many other movements. In particular, Schechter's discussions of racism and class raise important issues for community activists everywhere.

—Michele Cahill
Hoboken, N.J.

A PROPOSAL

DURING A RECENT CONVERSATION between Lester Rodney and myself, we agreed that the open exchange touched off by "Socialism means trusting in the people" (*ITT* editorial, Dec. 22) is a breath of fresh air. Actually, it has generated the beginnings of a discussion on the question: What are the minimum basic freedoms a social change experiment must establish in order to qualify as socialist? Each searching our different movement backgrounds and knowledge of the left in this country, we found that the exchange has the potential for becoming unique to at least the last half century in the life of American radical currents.

Certainly, various tendencies have since the early '20s discussed the criteria for what constitutes a genuine socialist experiment and perspectives for a variety of kinds of achievement thereof, but until *In These Times* opened the question with forum the discussions have been held in isolation. Because they were, in effect, group monologues, the audience for socialist ideas has had no opportunity to make comparisons and to provide input in a free atmosphere. The people of this audience have been able to play a role only by joining the various sects of the recruiters standing in judgment of them. After-the-fact rights are not the sort that many will seek to claim.

What a service it would be if *In These Times* now issued a call to organized radical groupings, in addition to interested individuals, offering participation in a more structured exchange. There would of course be limitations of space and time, but all would gain by creation of the immediate as well as historical reference source that the sum of the contributions would constitute. More, the project would be journalistically attractive, especially now that the formation of unemployed movements will increasingly legitimate focus beyond single issues to systemic crises. And, finally, as Lester Rodney points out, the basic methodology of the exchange would by itself stand as an example of socialist idealism.

—Stan Weir
San Pedro, Calif.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

PERSPECTIVES

Israelis could care less about arms sales to Third World

H A I F A

BINYAMIN BEIT HALLAHMI, 40, is an Israeli who teaches psychology at the University of Haifa. He also specializes in relations between Israel and South Africa and various countries of the Third World. The following interview was conducted by the Israel & Palestine Political Report.

What was the state of Israel's policy toward dictatorial regimes after its creation in 1948?

Israeli policies were always specific. Israel had, in 1948, relations with a lot more countries than it has today. In 1948 countries competed with each other to recognize Israel. There were all kinds of regimes that Israel had contacts with, but the contacts were diplomatic. There were normal diplomatic relations with the whole world.

The first strategic concept evolved around contacts with the Third World. This was Ben Gurion's concept of surrounding the Middle East, of having alliances with non-Arab countries, such as Ethiopia. It was an alliance with the non-Arabs in the Middle East. There were also attempts to create alliances with other countries in Asian-Africa; Burma, of course, is the best example and, in the early '60s, the so-called cooperation with Asian and African countries—which later on was discovered to be financed in great part by the U.S.; that is, by the CIA.

Israel simply acted as an intermediary. All these contacts were stopped later on. I would say that after 1967 these contacts were broken off and a new period was entered.

But the special relationship with South Africa has existed since 1948. This relationship has always been very close.

How do you explain that?

We can regard both Israel and South Africa as settled colonies, and this means there is a very clear historical alliance there—a partnership of destiny, you could call it—a common conception of what the world is like and what it should be like.

So you believe that Israel has the same structure as South Africa?

No, it's not the same structure; there are a lot of differences. But a lot of South Africans and a lot of Israelis emphasize these differences. I can only quote my good friend Itzhak Rabin, who I quote at every opportunity. On April 9, 1976, he said that Israel and South Africa share the same ideals. Who can argue with Itzhak Rabin? He knows what he's talking about.

So you have an historic relationship with South Africa that has persisted throughout two ideologically different regimes—Labor and Likud?

The only thing that has changed concerning South Africa is that the relationship now is more open. Under Labor, the relationship was well developed at all levels—military, nuclear, economic, educational, scientific—every possible level. But the alliance was kept under wraps. After the Likud came into power in 1977, this policy changed. Now Likud leaders say we have nothing to be ashamed of—this is something laudable, commendable, something that the whole world should know about, something we are doing willingly. This is really the big change since 1977.

There have been reports, especially in an African publication appearing in Lon-

don, about a three-way relation between Taiwan, South Africa and Israel on nuclear development. Did this start under Labor?

Yes. The main policies have existed since the first Labor government of Ben Gurion in the '50s. With the years, both countries have developed more sophisticated weapons and there is indeed cooperation between Israel, Taiwan and South Africa. There are a lot of reports about this even in the Israeli press.

Another change since 1977 is that the Israeli press carries a lot more reports on the alliance between Israel and South Africa.

What about Latin America? For example, cooperation with the Somoza regime in Nicaragua.

The significant thing in Nicaragua happened under the Likud government. This can be explained on the basis of general

nista Nicaragua. The Israelis supply arms, train and are there—which means Israel has military advisors in the field. The Israelis, however, are not with the anti-Nicaraguan rebels, since the U.S. would not let them do this. The CIA will not delegate any of its responsibilities to the Israelis.

But Israel is increasingly involved there, and during Sharon's visit all sorts of treaties were signed. Later on, the defense minister of Costa Rica visited Israel and all sorts of additional agreements were signed as well.

Guatemala is the most complete case of involvement in the area. The junta led by Rios Montt is a group of officers who were trained in Israel by Israel—before they took over.

In order to take over?

I don't know. Also, Israel has for a long time supplied more than 90 percent of

Since 1967 Israel has acted as an agent of the United States in supplying arms to Third World dictatorships that the U.S. has not wanted to support directly.

historical change in Latin and Central America. The area is more and more problematic from the North American point of view and this means the U.S. is in need of allies; it views Latin America as a powderkeg that is going to explode. The U.S. will not take this lying down and so we have greater Israeli involvement—since there is increased Israeli willingness to be involved at all levels.

In Nicaragua, Israel was the last country to supply arms to Somoza, even after the Americans had stopped. This was known in the U.S. but was denied in Israel. I think this subject was raised in the Knesset by Amnon Rubenstein, but it was denied there. I was in the U.S. at the time and could see Israeli arms in Nicaragua every night on TV. It was an open secret. This is a good example of the role Israel plays.

What about other countries?

Look at the map of Central America and the Caribbean. We have massive Israeli involvement in Haiti—and I don't think I can belabor the point that Haiti is well known all over the world as an example of one of the most backward regimes anywhere. Incredible crimes are committed daily against the common people there—and the corrupt family that controls the country is supported not only by the U.S.

But the American government, under the Carter administration, did express doubts about Haiti.

Yes, but in practice Haiti is an American colony. Israel is involved at the economic and military levels; it supports and trains Baby Doc Duvalier and the other terrorists.

As we move west, we have Honduras and Costa Rica, which both have extensive contacts with Israel and have formal treaties—military exchange and training treaties—with Israel.

There was a recent well-publicized visit by then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to Honduras and this was exactly at the time when the U.S. was developing Honduras as a staging area for a war against Sandi-

present American laws, the U.S. cannot supply arms or advisors directly to Guatemala. This points to a very important and crucial characteristic of Israel's activities in the Third World. Israel is actively involved in so-called trouble spots where the U.S. cannot be involved directly. Guatemala is the prime example.

Other Central and South American countries where Israel is involved?

Haiti, Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia as well, some in Panama, Ecuador and, of course, Chile, where Israel is heavily involved at all levels, especially in arms supply and in training the Chilean air force. We do have evidence of that and we do have evidence of heavy involvement and direct contacts.

What about evidence of Israeli help to Argentina?

Yes, there is an extensive alliance between Israel and Argentina that is fairly well known in Israel. Ex-Prime Minister Rabin—the Labor Party leader—gave a speech to the Argentinian General Staff in which he expressed his admiration for the Argentinian regime and the Argentinian army.

In Guatemala Israel does America's bidding, but Israel sold arms to Argentina while the U.S. lined up with Britain in the Falklands war...

The U.S. is a major world power and can't allow itself to be isolated or cut off from any major country. So, during the Falklands war, the U.S. supported Britain; but Israel, which certainly can't do anything without the consent of the U.S., at the same time sold arms to Argentina. This is simply a way for the U.S. to keep the door open with the Argentinian junta.

The overall system.

Can you give us an idea about the whole system?

It operates in many Third World trouble spots; Israel is the subcontractor—for the U.S.—as described openly by my good friend and colleague Minister Yaakov Meridor, who said on Aug. 25, 1981, in *Haaretz*, "We will say to the Americans: don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean or in other places where you cannot sell arms directly. Let us do it. You will sell ammunition and equipment through an intermediary. Israel will be your intermediary."

So this is exactly the idea and that is that Israel can be very helpful to the U.S. by saving the U.S. a lot of embarrassment in a lot of places.

The best example is South Africa. The U.S. is vitally interested in the survival of the apartheid regime. There's no question

Continued on following page

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Israeli-supplied arms have been used to massacre people in Guatemala and other Latin nations.

Continued from preceding page

directly—it can't sell arms or send military advisors because public outcry in the U.S. would be unbelievable. It's unacceptable for any administration—even the Reagan administration—to do anything like that, despite its support on a diplomatic level.

So here we have Israel ready to do anything—and it does so with enthusiasm, efficiency and grace; and, from a public relations point of view, Israeli help to South Africa is also important, because when you get Israel helping South Africa you get support for South Africa all of a sudden from a lot of Jewish individuals in the U.S. This is a fact that the South African government is well aware of.

Why this support from American Jews? Because Israel has become tied, through a lot of newspaper reports, to South Africa. Many Jews in the U.S. become very sensitive. They know the issue of allegiance between Israel and South Africa can be brought up and is, and anytime South Africa is mentioned the association will be: "They may be talking about Israel next." So automatically all sorts of Jews in the U.S. and Israel have discovered that apartheid is not such a bad thing after all; if Israel is for apartheid, then maybe it's not so bad.

South Africa has gained a lot of support in terms of U.S. public opinion in this bizarre way. Instead of guilt by association, this is innocence by association—that is what South Africa gains by its relationship with Israel.

What about the concept of the package deal?

Guatemala is the perfect example of the package deal. Guatemala is a country with a corrupt regime, which has ever-increasing problems with the local population; and the U.S. is anxious to avoid real political change there. Israel takes over and Israel is going to take care of all of Guatemala's problems from an American point of view—military, civilian, training, arms, organization, secret services and police, computer systems, etc. Israel will do all this for cost and 5 percent, or whatever. We have a great deal of enthusiasm and we have no moral hesitations whatsoever.

Even if Reagan were to send U.S. officers to the field in Guatemala, they would publicly react to the terrible things going on there—which Israelis apparently don't do. In Guatemala, we have a real genocide against the Indian population and Israeli advisors there must surely know what's going on.

What happened to Jewish ethics and morals?

I don't believe that there is such a thing as Jewish ethics—I believe that there are universal ethics and morals. But in the Diaspora there is a Jewish spirit of liberalism and morality and this spirit has surely disappeared in Israel. When we look at the internal scene in Israel today we discover there is no reaction whatsoever to the acts committed by the Israel government all over the Third World.

I should mention something here: On March 7, 1982, a cultural exchange and cooperation treaty was signed between Israel and Haiti. The event is so fantastic that it doesn't require any further comments. We can imagine how such an

agreement between, say, France and Haiti, would be received by the French press. But in Israel there was no reaction—none at all. There was no interest in the whole affair.

The issue is basically a non-issue. In Israel, if you try to get a reaction from an Israeli regarding involvement in Haiti, you will be sorely disappointed. He's simply not interested; he doesn't know much about Haiti and doesn't care to know. Even if you tell him that Israel is involved there, or in Guatemala, his only reaction is "Is it good for business?" The business angle is openly acknowledged and often mentioned in Israel.

This is not the only reaction in Israel?

I've tried to get other reactions. I speak often in public and I use every opportunity to mention, for example, Israeli involvement in Guatemala. It's become almost an obsession with me, an *idée fixe*. When I speak to an Israeli audience, there is no reaction. It is a provocation. People simply turn deaf when I raise this issue. Israeli audiences are simply insensitive to this or agree quietly with government policy.

There are two Israeli journalists who write frequently about these issues and should be commended for their work: Haim Baram and Yoav Karmi. They both write often and well, they have facts and figures, but nevertheless there is never any reaction.

The current political situation in Israel is extremely comfortable for this kind of policy. Even those who are opposed to government policy on all sorts of things never raise this issue and there are ways of raising it.

Haim Baram spoke with an opposition leader from El Salvador on television. Can you recount briefly the story?

The man came to Israel to convince people there not to interfere in his country. He was received warmly by various left groups and that was it.

He appeared on TV and there was no reaction?

None. Israeli TV reports all these things. For example, Israeli TV ran a news segment produced by a British television station in Guatemala. The segment reported in detail, and very critically, about the massacres of Indians in Guatemala. Immediately following this report on atrocities in Guatemala, the announcer in Jerusalem added, quite clearly in Hebrew, "As we know very well, all the arms in Guatemala are supplied by Israel." It was simply mentioned as a matter of fact. Nobody was excited about it. There was no reaction.

There is also the phenomenon in recent years of Israel immigration to South Africa—there is an Israeli community there.

Lots of Israeli tourists go to South Africa and come back delighted with their experiences. Many young Israeli couples go to South Africa for their honeymoon and come back with the idea that they would like to settle there some day.

Israeli universities have good contacts with South African universities. Ben Gurion University in Beersheba has extensive agreements with South African universities; the University of Haifa has a close relationship with South African organizations. Many Israeli professors go to South Africa for sabbaticals, there are scientific exchange agreements, etc.

Also, a lot of Israeli artists go to South Africa for public appearances.

On the diplomatic level, Israel of course gives its support to South Africa on many, many occasions. Israel has simply not recognized the legitimacy of UN actions against apartheid and consistently votes against any action the UN takes in regard to apartheid.

On the military and nuclear level, the Israeli army and the South African army cooperate on a day-to-day basis on training. Many South African military men are trained in Israel—it's part of the normal training program of the Israeli army. Israeli officers go to South Africa for training, there are contacts—especially in Namibia, where Israeli military advisors may be found, and cooperative projects for developing weapons systems also exist.

On the nuclear level, of course, there has been cooperation, according to some sources, since 1955, so it's a long-term project. There have been a lot of reports—there's a lot of evidence—about cooperation in this area. In December 1980, Israeli TV carried a half-hour program produced in Britain that described in detail nuclear cooperation between Israel and South Africa, which created the famous incident of September 22, 1979, in which an American spy satellite recorded a sharp flash of light in the ocean near the southern tip of South Africa. This was reportedly a joint test of a nuclear naval shell. This program was carried by Israeli TV without comment and caused no reaction in the Israeli press.

Are there any similar project in the Far East?

Yes, contacts exist with South Korea—the Moonie connection—and Taiwan. There is also a very interesting connection—I think we have a scoop here, because this issue is not discussed very widely—between Israel and the Philippines. Our good friend Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines is an ally of Israel and this is another trouble spot for the U.S.; Marcos is being denounced throughout the world.

On December 10, 1982—Universal Human Rights Day—Israel TV appropriately enough carried a program on human rights violations in the Philippines. It was very well done and showed all sorts of terrible things being done in the Philippines under the Marcos regime. This program failed to mention, however, that all of these things are done with the cooperation and support of Israel. In the Philippines, again, we have some kind of package deal—we have military advisors, arms, training, and some civilian advisors as well.

This is a relatively late development. Marcos has now joined the list of Third World dictators who became Israel's good friends.

Is there anything that can be done about all this?

It is important to publicize these things. I've taken it upon myself to publicize this as much as possible. That's one of the reasons I wrote an article on this subject for the *New York Times*.

The point is to make noise about it, let it be known, because otherwise there will be no pressure for change. These policies are not just a matter of ethics or morality or image or ideology. This is a matter of lives—the lives of men, women and children in the Third World. When we react against these things we are literally saving lives.

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PERSPECTIVES



Jesse Jackson is now the only prominent black talking about contesting for the presidential nomination.

High court rulings spur black worry of presidential try

By Vernon Jarrett

WITHIN ONE 24-HOUR period last week the Supreme Court and President Reagan dramatized what NAACP Executive

Director Benjamin Hooks has been saying for the last two months.

When Hooks declined to join the current media bandwagon for a black presidential candidate, he explained that the primary issue of the moment is "the removal of President Reagan from the White House" in 1984. Hooks believes that Reagan is committed to the "destruction of the great gains won by the civil rights movement" over the last three decades and that if Reagan is re-elected, "there is no way we can measure the permanent damage he will do to the course

of human rights."

Hooks cited one core example of that permanent damage: "It is probable that Reagan would have an opportunity to appoint three justices to the Supreme Court. And we don't need to be told that he would appoint the most reactionary individuals he could find."

"And if his Supreme Court appointments are young enough, they could sit there for years and proceed to undo every progressive measure passed by the Congress and every affirmative decision handed down by previous courts," Hooks declared.

Last week, the Supreme Court evoked glee in the hearts of the president and all supporters of tax tuition credits and private school voucher plans when it ruled that a Minnesota law permitting tuition tax credits is constitutional.

In the eyes of the defenders of public education, that ruling could be the wedge

that opens a conservative move against the financial underpinnings of public schools.

On the day of that decision, President Reagan delivered an emotional broadside against federal support of education and previous court decisions against racial segregation. In fact, Reagan blamed the federal courts and federal funding for the decline in education over the last 20 years.

The president chose 1,300 innocent youths attending the National Association of Student Councils at Shawnee Mission, Kan., for his immediate audience, but his message was meant for all Americans.

"About 20 years ago, Congress passed the first large-scale aid to the public schools," declared the president. "As some of us had warned, with federal aid came federal control."

"Over the same period, the schools were charged by the federal courts with leading in the correction of longstanding injustices in our society—racial segregation, sex discrimination, lack of opportunity for the handicapped."

"There is no question that somewhere along the line many schools lost sight of their main purpose," Reagan said, restating the conservative argument that "quality teaching" was forced to "take a back seat to other objectives."

Then came the clincher, which Hooks could have predicted. "We're trying to turn that around, and with your help, we can."

Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP sees removal of Reagan as an all-consuming task for blacks. His concern focuses on the long-term damage a second term would cause.

With that mentality re-elected to the White House, anybody can predict the kind of Supreme Court that awaits America.

And if we refuse to be shaken by the present high court and Reagan's promise last Wednesday, recent history offers its instructions.

Once upon a time there was a presidential candidate named Richard M. Nixon who promised that, if elected, he would do his best to give us a "constructionist" Supreme Court. You may define "constructionist" to mean a return to the late 19th-century Supreme Courts, which approved racial segregation in public places.

He did his best. The results of his promise went on display last week in the court's 5-4 Minnesota tuition tax credit decision. Writing the majority opinion was none other than Nixon-appointed Justice William H. Rehnquist, an admitted conservative, who was joined by Nixon-appointed Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, Nixon-appointed Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr., Reagan-appointed Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and Justice Byron White, the lone justice appointed by a Democrat, President John F. Kennedy.

Only one Nixon appointee joined in Justice Thurgood Marshall's dissenting opinion. He was Justice Harry A. Blackmun.

Says Hooks, "I certainly am for the right of a black candidate to be considered and elected president. But for the sake of the nation and my people, I must consume my thoughts and actions in whatever is the best way of removing that man [Reagan] from the White House."

Vernon Jarrett is a columnist for the Chicago Tribune, where this article first appeared.

POPULAR PAMPHLETS

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INPRINT

FOREIGN POLICY

Portrait of the diplomat as a reckless man

The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House
By Seymour Hersh
Summit, 698 pp., \$19.95

By Stewart Burns

Largely due to the liberal media's celebration and hero worship of Henry Kissinger for his apparent diplomatic triumphs, most of the informed public—including many on the left—still believe that except for his failure in Indochina, Kissinger was a remarkable diplomat who achieved noble ends, chiefly in the opening to China and detente with the Soviet Union. Journalists and scholars criticized his *means*—systematic disception, ruthlessness and occasional brutality—but his achievements are viewed as almost sacrosanct. Seymour Hersh, probably this country's most respected investigative reporter, presents a strikingly different picture of Kissinger's achievements and his methods in this long-awaited exhaustive study that promises to be the definitive history of Kissinger's White House years. Along with careful scrutiny of memoirs and press accounts Hersh conducted more than 1,000 interviews with Nixon administration officials and other participants, including leaders of North Vietnam. Whether or not one agrees with Hersh's controversial conclusions, the book is a monumental scholarly achievement.

Hersh, who in 1969 uncovered the My Lai massacre in South Vietnam, shows that from the outset of the volatile and often bizarre Nixon-Kissinger partner-

ship the two overriding goals were to win the Vietnam war and to ensure Nixon's re-election. The cornerstone of their foreign policy, and an underlying theme of the book, is the "secret threat policy," or "madman theory," that the president and his national security czar adopted early in 1969. The two men were determined to achieve a Vietnam settlement on American terms by the end of that year, because they were concerned that renewed antiwar protests would make such a settlement more difficult later on. They decided to "go for broke," as Nixon put it, creating a credible threat to brutalize North Vietnam if it did not capitulate by Nov. 1, 1969. Nixon wanted Hanoi to believe him to be an irrational "madman" whose actions were utterly unpredictable.

"Nuke them."

Hersh's single most crucial revelation—known to many thanks to Daniel Ellsberg but never before appearing in mainstream media—is that Nixon and Kissinger considered using tactical nuclear weapons as part of the massive escalation they planned. Kissinger aide Roger Morris saw nuclear target folders "describing the predicted results of low-yield nuclear air bursts over at least two cities in North Vietnam," one of which was a railroad complex just one mile from the Chinese border. The nuclear threat against Hanoi cannot be dismissed as a one-time aberration since Hersh documents a pattern of nuclear threats by Nixon and Kissinger in Vietnam and elsewhere. He does not, however, provide enough hard evidence to prove that they actually intended to *carry out* their threats; the most we have is Nixon's occasional drunken orders to "nuke them." Hersh confirms and elaborates what Nixon had previously admitted in his memoirs—that the fall 1969 moratorium protests, and the antiwar movement generally, prevented him from implementing his escalation plan—with or without nuclear weapons.

But Nixon and Kissinger did not discard this escalation plan, according to Hersh. They decided to postpone it until after they had successfully undercut and weakened the growing antiwar movement through "Vietnamization," media manipulation and domestic spying. Meanwhile, they secretly expanded the bombing of Cambodia and Laos and invaded both countries—moves apparently aimed at persuading Hanoi of Nixon's irrationality.

Then in May 1972 they publicly escalated the bombing of North Vietnam and mined its

waterways for the first time. At this point, Hersh discloses, the growing tension between Nixon and Kissinger erupted into a chasm: for his own self-serving purposes Kissinger grew determined to reach a settlement before the election; Nixon, on the other hand, was worried that a fragile agreement might threaten his re-election, and he sabotaged the accord that his advisor reached with Hanoi's Le Duc Tho in October. After the election Kissinger supported Nixon's hardening of American terms and in December was the main advocate of the ferocious "Christmas bombing" of Hanoi that was intended not so much to pressure North Vietnam as to win South Vietnam's President Thieu's acceptance of the peace terms, and to save face. (As a footnote Hersh reveals not only that many B-52 pilots and crew members refused to fly these bombing missions but that Air Force intelligence personnel in Okinawa, whose job it was to help the B-52s avoid anti-aircraft missiles, staged a work stoppage and protest, resulting in a higher loss of the huge bombers. "Some members of the units described the work stoppage as virtual mutiny," he reports, "with cheers arising every time a B-52 was shot down.")

Hersh shows that Nixon and Kissinger had no intention of carrying out the political aspects of the peace settlement and were committed to a secret agreement with Thieu to renew the bombing of North and South Vietnam if Hanoi violated the accord. They were all set to send back the B-52s in the spring of 1973, but Watergate, and a more courageous Congress, prevented Nixon from re-escalating the war and made it possible for North Vietnam to finally win in 1975. Throughout his account of Nixon's and Kissinger's Vietnam maneuvers, Hersh repeatedly emphasizes the enormous impact of the antiwar movement on their decision-making, even after the movement's strength had diminished. Only when he was certain of re-election after the visits to Beijing and Moscow did Nixon begin to ignore the antiwar forces.

Significant achievement.

Though Vietnam is the central focus, Hersh covers fully the entire gamut of foreign policy, especially the opening to China and negotiations with the Soviet Union. He sees the beginning of normalized relations with Beijing as the one truly significant achievement, though he stresses that it was obtained at the unnecessary costs of allowing Pakistani genocide in Bangladesh and at the risk of nuclear war with the Soviets. He shows that the main purposes of the costly China visits were to win votes and to wean China from its support of Hanoi, both of which succeeded.

Hersh argues that the short-lived detente with Russia culminating in the 1972 Moscow summit was not at all a triumph for peace but rather a public relations bonanza for Nixon that disguised its real failures. The Soviet Union had expressed its desire for a strategic arms treaty since



Henry the K: detente camouflaged his real failures in negotiating with the Soviets.

the very beginning of the Nixon presidency, but Kissinger held off, using SALT negotiations as leverage to get other concessions from Moscow. In particular, Kissinger and Nixon wanted the Russians to coerce Hanoi, an ability they did not have.

When Kissinger finally negotiated in earnest—all by himself through a "backchannel" to Moscow, bypassing the official U.S. delegation—his compulsion for short-run success led to a grievous failure that haunts our lives today. He sacrificed a ban on MIRVs, multiple independently targeted warheads, for a limitation on anti-ballistic missiles, a far less meaningful accomplishment. The U.S. leapt ahead in the development of MIRV first-strike weapons, and it was the subsequent Soviet commitment to achieve parity in MIRV deployment that motivated the Carter and Reagan administrations to try to regain superiority with a new generation of strategic weapons, especially the MX. Not only did Nixon and Kissinger fail to slow down the nuclear arms race, Hersh suggests, but their tragic blunders were responsible for its massive escalation later on. What he does not make explicit, though, is the deliberate and calculated use of U.S. nuclear superiority by Nixon and Kissinger both to achieve gains in Vietnam and the Middle East, and to block Soviet responses to U.S. interventions and threats of limited nuclear war.

Hersh brings to light many other illuminating facts about Nixon and Kissinger: Nixon's

blatant anti-Semitism and racism, the latter shared by Kissinger ("Henry, let's leave the niggers to Bill," Nixon says, referring to Africa and Secretary of State William Rogers, "and we'll take care of the rest of the world"); Kissinger's serious emotional disorders and his cruel treatment of his most loyal aides; Nixon's obsession to destroy Allende's government in Chile and Kissinger's direct supervision of the CIA campaign to overthrow it; and much more.

Hersh focuses so intensely on Kissinger and Nixon as individuals, however, that the larger national and international context sometimes appears blurry. And by emphasizing how different they were from other presidents and policy makers he implies that these two corrupt and insecure leaders were merely aberrations. The reader is left uncertain how useful Hersh's study can be in understanding the motives and dynamics of U.S. foreign policy in general, a familiar problem in any version of the "great man" theory of history.

Nevertheless, his thorough investigation suggests numerous parallels with the Reagan administration, particularly in regard to nuclear arms talks and U.S. intervention in Latin America. One hopes that the peace movement's powerful impact on Nixon and Kissinger was not an aberration, and that it will have an even greater effect on Reagan's policies.

Stewart Burns is a doctoral candidate in political theory at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

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By David M. Kotz

Imagine that, while traveling by train, you comment to your seatmate that something should be done about the 11 million unemployed. He responds that you are suffering from an illusion. No one is involuntarily unemployed, he assures you; those 11 million people are enjoying leisure because they regard the pay rates in jobs for which they are qualified as too low to make it worth their while to work. When you look at him quizzically, he remarks that if you doubt his point, you should realize that it must be valid since any involuntarily unemployed person could quickly find work by going to an employer in his trade and offering to work at slightly below the going wage. He adds that, in any event, it is futile for the government to attempt to reduce unemployment because government policies have no effect whatsoever on the real performance of the economy.

By this point in your train ride you would probably be wondering what sort of crank was sitting next to you. But if you had read Lester Thurow's critique of conventional economics, you would know that your seatmate could well be a leading academic economist. In recent years an extreme version of conservative economics has replaced liberal, interventionist Keynesianism as the dominant view among economists.

Thurow's *Dangerous Currents: The State of Economics* is a penetrating critique of the currently fashionable conservative economic theories that go under the names of monetarism, supply side economics and the lesser known "rational expectations" theory. These different brands of conservative economics share the common view that a capitalist economy, if left unfettered by government intervention of any sort, gives us the best possible results. If we have lately experienced unemployment, inflation, import invasions, declining productivity and stagnation, the root cause is government interference with the free market through taxation that discourages investment, social programs that destroy work incentives and regulations that infringe on freedom of enterprise.

Thurow's own work falls within the liberal interventionist tradition, but he is not wedded to every element in the tradition. Thus, while holding the government responsible for bringing full employment, he is skeptical of antitrust laws and taxes on corporate profits. In his writings he calls for a more equal distribution of income and more state planning of the economy, but he bases these reforms on a continuing foundation of capitalist institutions. A respected MIT professor, Thurow has become perhaps the leading liberal economist in the public eye. He appears regularly on television and lectures widely; his books are heavily promoted in the media.

Auctioneering economics.

In *Dangerous Currents* Thurow demonstrates that contemporary conservative economics is not a bizarre aberration within the economics profession. On the contrary, it derives logically from what Thurow calls the "equilibrium price-auction model." The price-auction model assumes

that all human economic interactions take place in competitive markets in which an imaginary auctioneer rapidly finds the price that will equate supply with demand. While the interventionist Keynesian theory ruled during the '50s and '60s in macroeconomics (the study of unemployment and inflation), the *laissez faire* price-auction model developed in the 19th century remained the orthodoxy in microeconomics (the study of firms and households). Thurow effectively shows that the contemporary conservative theories are an extension of the latter theoretical model into the realm of unemployment and inflation.

Having established this much,

during recessions despite rising unemployment. Furthermore, he points out that workers who feel underpaid generally don't quit but rather hold onto their job while looking for a new one.

The supply siders, with their magical claims that tax rate reductions will solve all economic problems, are shown to be the "religious fundamentalists" of the price-auction tradition. The price-auction model supposedly "proves" that competitive capitalism produces optimum efficiency and economic growth; hence, any reduction in government interference (taxes) must improve economic performance. Empirical evidence would be nice—and Thurow gleefully recounts

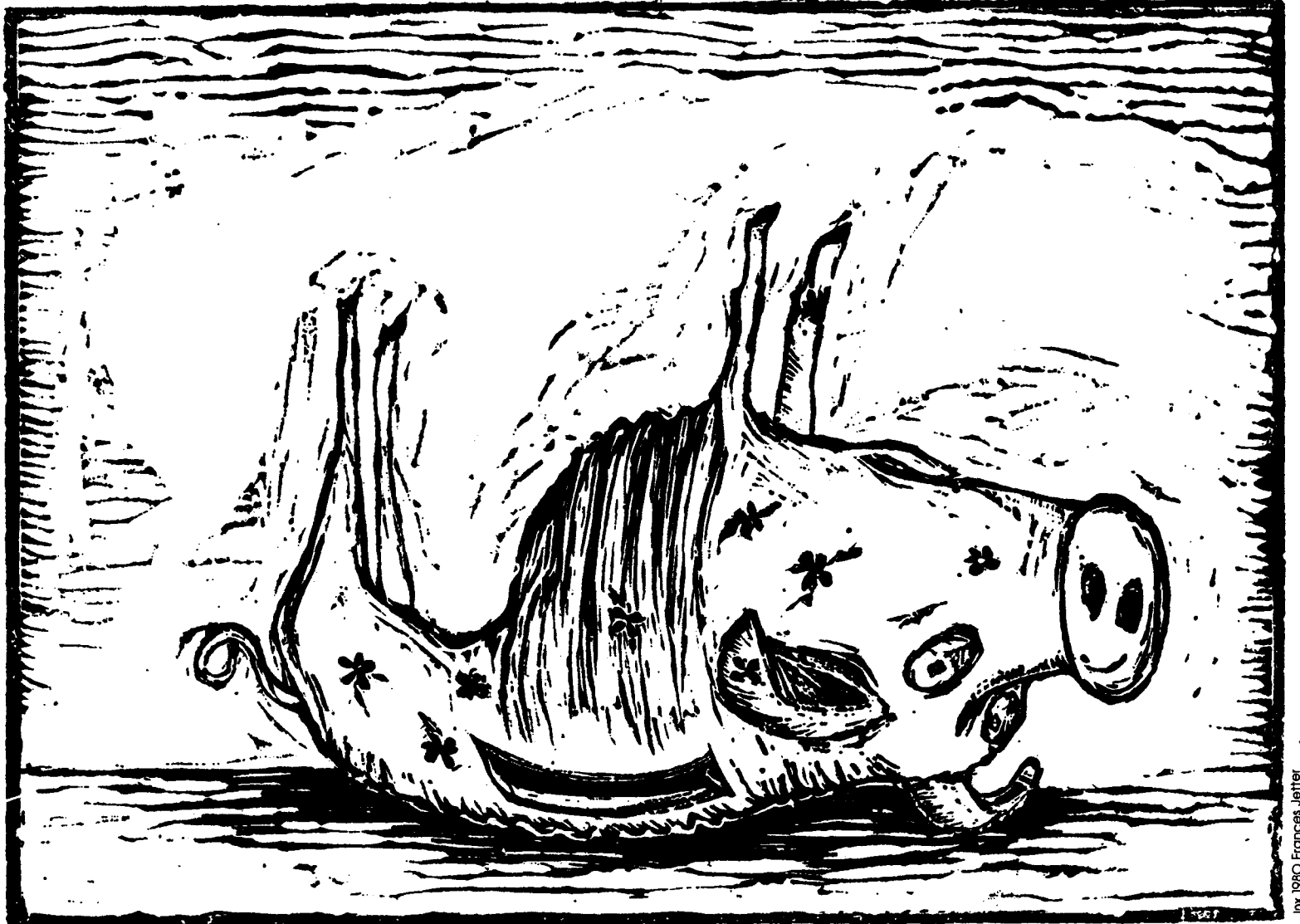
He shows that the price-auction model view of the world is fundamentally misleading, that it ignores the complex social nature of human beings and their varied wants and needs, overlooks the key role of institutions and habits in human economic behavior and misrepresents the effects of uncertainty about the future for economic behavior.

Thurow's weakness.

Despite the many strengths of this book, *Dangerous Currents* suffers from three weaknesses, which render it a less useful book than it might have been. First of all, the book is not well written or edited. It has the appearance of a rush job that went through only

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the introduction that the book is aimed both at the professional economist and the lay person. But mainstream economists are accustomed to discussing economic theory in a highly abstract, jargon-laden manner, and Thurow's attempt to produce a book that would be taken seriously by other mainstream economists required a manner of presentation that tends to exclude non-economists.

The most serious weakness of the book is Thurow's unsuccessful effort to explain why conservative economics has re-emerged as the dominant view. He offers two reasons for this development. First, the economic storms of the '70s sent economists searching for a world of theoretical certainty, which the price-auction model offered. He likens it to the upsurge in religious fundamentalism. But why was this particular theory chosen? There were other possible candidates; Keynesian economics offers its own brand of certainty about the world, yet it was discarded. Secondly, Thurow asserts that economists are attached to the ease with which the price-auction model can be cast



ix 1980 Frances Jetter

Thurow's critique is thorough. Thurow launches a devastating attack both on the specific new theories now in vogue and on the price-auction model itself. He challenges the conservative theorists' basic assumptions, their logical consistency and the accuracy of their predictions.

Take, for example, Milton Friedman's "natural rate of unemployment" theory. This theory holds that the economy naturally produces full employment, although some unemployment will be recorded since some people, dissatisfied with their wages, will have quit their jobs to look for better paying ones. Thurow shows that this theory derives from the implausible assumption that the labor market is like the stock market. That is, the labor market is assumed to "clear" by the rapid adjustment of wages to ensure that every unemployed person wanting a job will get one (just as stock prices will adjust to assure that every seller of stock can find a buyer). Thurow observes that labor markets don't work that way in reality—wages do not always fall

the major piece of empirical support for supply side theories: Martin Feldstein's finding that Social Security taxes reduce savings and hence reduce investment and growth. Unfortunately, Feldstein's result turned out to be due to a computer error that, when corrected, showed that Social Security taxes *increase* savings. Such an error could ruin a career, but in this case it seems an error in pursuit of a good cause is forgiveable, and Feldstein is now chairman of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors.

one draft. Good, clear writing is especially important in a book about a difficult subject aimed at the lay person. Another draft might have made the main arguments in the book more powerful and easier to follow.

But another draft would probably not have remedied a second problem: the book is very difficult in many places. Much of it is intelligible only to someone with a strong economics background. More defining of terms would have helped, but the problem goes deeper. Thurow indicates in

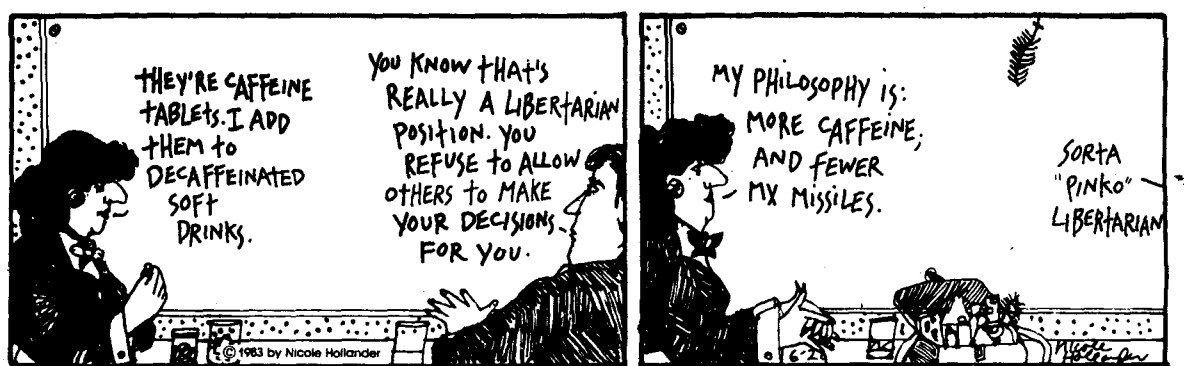
into rigorous, mathematical form. True, but again, so can other theories—including Marxian economics.

The real reason is painfully obvious, and Thurow comes close to seeing it when, in another context, he observes that "the profession is willing to change its research interests and focus of attention very rapidly in response to society's [sic] perceived needs and funding largess." If one substitutes for "society's" the

Continued on following page

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



Continued from previous page

phrase "the dominant group's," then we have the basis of an explanation.

Since the Progressive Era the capitalist class has been politically divided over the issue of state intervention in the economy. A liberal wing, usually associated with the larger, more established corporations and banks, has supported certain kinds of state intervention, while the conservative wing, associated with smaller and/or newer business interests, have favored *laissez-faire* economics. This split played a role in the establishment of state regulation of business in the 1900-20 period and the creation of significant social programs coupled with government efforts to tame the business cycle beginning in the period 1933-48. As the state role in the economy changed, economic theory eventually changed with it, as Keynesian theories both informed and justified state intervention.

Changing winds.

In the late '60s and early '70s, popular pressure led to the expansion and improvement of social programs such as Social Security, aid to education and health programs. And over the clear opposition of big business, government regulation of occupational safety and health and the environment were established. But the economic winds were changing, as the U.S. economy (along with the other capitalist economies) entered a crisis in the '70s that grew more severe as the decade proceeded. This led the liberal wing of capital to shift ground. Social programs and regulation of business previously seen as necessary to stabilize capitalism were now viewed as having expanded excessively, undermining the growth and competitiveness of U.S. business. The effect on politics was immediate. The last years of the Carter administration were marked by deregulation and cutbacks in social programs. The Reagan administration greatly accelerated this movement, but the basic direction began earlier.

The effect on academic economics was no less dramatic. With the capitalist class united around the need to cut social programs and regulations, the economics profession rapidly moved to the right. It was partly a matter of research funding: the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and other right-wing foundations began to pour money into economics research that would prove the "right" things. The ultimate source of such funds is not just John Birch-type small capitalists; the top officials of Chase Manhattan Bank, General Motors and General Electric have raised funds for AEI in recent years.

But money was not the whole story. When united, the capitalist class has enormous power to create a national mood or direction, particularly through the mass media. As the national mood reflected in the media shifted against government intervention in the economy, the economics profession shifted with it.

The new conservative economics did not just respond to and reflect the new politics; it has played a key role in promoting it. It is difficult to justify a program of transferring income from poor to rich and undermining the massively popular environmental and job safety laws. But the new conservative economics, and the traditional price-auction model from which it derives, offer a

powerful rationale for that program. This theory vigorously argues that state intervention in the economy does not accomplish the good things it is supposed to accomplish. All it does is hamstring the economy, which makes everyone suffer. This must be so, because the unfettered free market always produces the best possible outcome. Thus, individual workers will switch from unsafe to safe jobs, compelling the optimum amount of job safety. Voluntary private savings for old age (IRAs) are superior to the compulsory Social Security system. And so on.

According to this rationale, the re-emergence of a seemingly archaic and outdated "free market" economic theory makes sense. It re-emerged not for the reasons of form cited by Thurow (easy mathematization and an air of certainty) but for reasons of substance. It is ideally suited to justify the current political program of big business. But the free market theory is ultimately in conflict with the world view and experience of the larger corporations and banks. They operate in a world of markets controlled by private monopoly power and state intervention. While true believers would like to actually go back to the small, non-interventionist state of the 19th century, corporate thinkers understand that that would be a prescription for disaster—capitalism needs an interventionist state for stability and survival. Although big corporate money has promoted the resurgence of free market economic theory, there has been a continuing tension between the right-wing economics ideologues around the Reagan administration (David Stockman, Representative Jack Kemp) and the more traditional corporate types (Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, Vice-President George Bush).

It is likely that the political winds will soon change again. The Reagan administration has succeeded in cutting back social programs and regulation of business. But the conservative economic program has not solved, nor can it solve, the economic crisis. It appears that the solution will lie in another extension of the state's economic role, this time involving direct state guidance of markets to facilitate profit-making and enable U.S. business to compete against the more highly planned economies of Japan and Western Europe. Known as "industrial policy," this strategy seems to be the wave of the future. If this proves correct, conservative economics will soon be found wanting, and a resurgence of neo-Keynesian interventionist thought seems likely. The right-wing economic ideologues, so puffed up of late with money and praise by the powers that be, may soon be deflated and relegated to the fringe of modern economic thought once more.

Should this scenario emerge, Lester Thurow is well positioned to assume a leading role as economic guru of a renewed liberal interventionism. His previous book, *Zero Sum Society*, advanced an industrial policy. His latest book clears the field for such a policy by showing the claim that unregulated markets work best is based on an outmoded and implausible theory, thus slaying the free market dragon now barring the path to industrial policy.

David M. Kotz is an economics professor at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

GRAPHICS

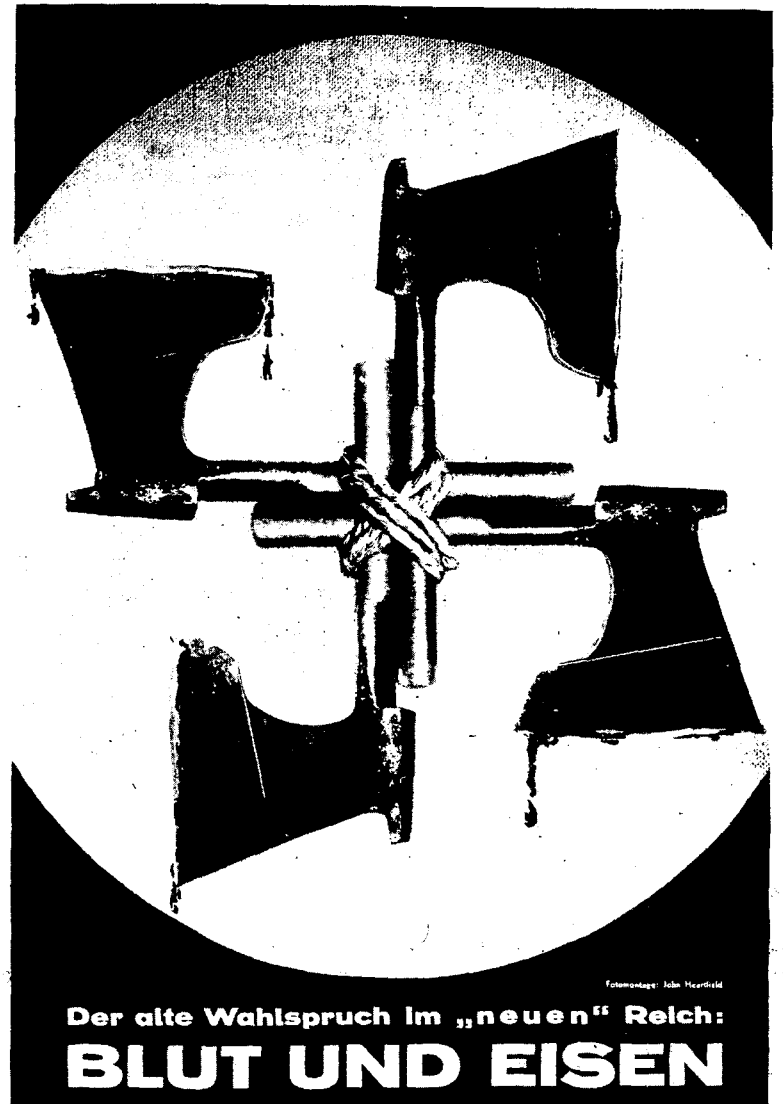
Heartfield: The art of photo-persuasion

By Miles DeCoster

When Helmut Herzfeld changed his name to John Heartfield in reaction to the rising nationalist sentiment in Weimar Germany, he embarked on a career in which person, politics and art were to be inseparable. The exhibition of his graphic work at the Peace Museum in Chicago shows both the political relevance of his work to the climate of oppression that accompanied the rise of Nazism in the '30s as well as the aesthetic significance of his technical innovations in the use of typography and photography. Heartfield was a pioneer in the use of photomontage as an artistic device and as a means to integrate current imagery with overtly political messages.

While experimentation in styles, mediums and techniques was widespread in Europe and Russia in the '10s, '20s and '30s (i.e. cubism, constructivism, suprematism, surrealism, dada, etc.), Heartfield did not confine his work to the traditional outlets for art or limit his audience to an educated elite. He chose rather to publish his work: as posters plastered on the kiosks in German cities, and in periodicals that reached a wide and diverse audience—primarily in AIZ (*Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung/Workers' Illustrated Paper*). Between 1930 and 1938 he contributed more than 200 pieces to AIZ dealing with political and social issues of the day. In the mid-'30s, AIZ reached more than 500,000 readers, and many of the covers were reprinted as posters.

While the origins of photo-



montage are subject to debate, there is little disagreement that John Heartfield and his Russian contemporaries Alexander Rodchenko and El Lissitzky were its masters. It is no accident that they all used it as a vehicle for political persuasion as well as artistic statement. Photomontage was a technique ideally suited for commentary on current events

AIZ, March 8, 1934.

because the artist could integrate news photos familiar to a wide audience with other photographs, drawings and text. It thus retained the veracity of the news photograph while allowing for manipulation and symbolic modification.

The juxtaposition of image and text was also a key element in Heartfield's covers and posters. Just as the meaning of photos taken from the popular press and Nazi propaganda were altered, so too were headlines, quotations and slogans lifted and their meaning slyly perverted. For an AIZ cover (December, 1935) headlined "Hurrah, the butter is gone" Heartfield created a montage of a family eating various pieces of machinery—the family dog is under the table chewing on a large bolt while the baby nibbles on a hatchet. The wallpaper is decorated with swastikas and a "Hindenberg pillow" (the General, not the zeppelin) rests on the sofa. At the bottom of the cover is a quote from Goering: "Iron has always made a country strong; butter and lard have at most made the people fat."

In other AIZ covers the relationship between the National Socialists and the German industrialists who financed them is made explicit. An October '32 cover headlined "The Meaning of the Hitler Salute" shows Hitler with his hand up in "salute" receiving money from a much larger man behind him. The subtitle reads in part: "Millions

AIZ cover, April 12, 1934.



stand behind me," a slogan Hitler used in his push for power, here altered by the image to suggest that it is millions of marks, not people, that stand behind him. In another cover smokestacks—a Nazi symbol for economic recovery—are juxtaposed with smoking cannon barrels. The text reads: "Prospects for the death business."

Heartfield considered the printed piece as the end product of his work, not the montages themselves—the assembling of which was often done by assistants. The type, an integral part of the work, was not added until positive slides were made for transfer to copper photogravure printing plates. He had no interest in producing commodities for art collectors (though, ironically, this is what the "original" covers and posters have become). He was, however, active in the Berlin Dada movement along with his frequent collaborator George Grosz and his printed work was included in their exhibitions. The Berlin Dadaists were more blatantly political than their Zurich and Paris counterparts; in 1918 Heartfield and Grosz both joined the Communist Party, along with Zurich transplant Richard Huelsenbeck and Heartfield's brother Wieland Herzfelde.

Relevant opposition.

While the particular content of Heartfield's work during the Nazi period is no longer current, the oppositions symbolized are strikingly relevant. The dove impaled on a bayonet in front of the League of Nations building was a powerful symbol in 1932, but by removing the building and adding the caption "Never Again!" a still powerful poster for world peace was created in 1960.

Heartfield moved to England just prior to WWII where he continued his opposition to the Nazis (though he was briefly interned there with other "enemy aliens" when the war broke out). In 1950 he returned to East Germany where he worked for the German Theater, the Berlin Ensemble and other cultural organizations. While he was much admired for his anti-fascist work and honored with major shows in the USSR, China, East and West Germany, his opposition to the Cold War and the nuclear buildup as well as his avant garde aesthetics prevented him from being a significant proponent of the new German socialist state. He died in Berlin in 1968.

The exhibition at Chicago's Peace Museum, curated by Viktoria Hertling, includes a number of original AIZ covers, larger reprints of Heartfield's covers, as well as posters and book covers done during and after the war. The show runs through August 21 and plans are being made for the exhibition to travel. The growth of the peace movement in the last several years has created a renewed interest in art that embodies political commitment, be it that of Heartfield, Grosz, Rodchenko and El Lissitzky or the Bread and Puppet theater. The Peace Museum is a testament to that interest.



Robert Mapplethorpe

MOVIES

Beefcake, but with no cake

By Pat Aufderheide

Breathless, the American remake of Godard's classic, is supposed to make you feel hot. It might do that. It might just make you feel sad, though. Not only are the characters lost and lonely, gliding on the slick surface of plasticland in Los Angeles' consumer paradise, the movie is too. It is gorgeous without being beautiful, frenetic instead of energetic, hollow inside its fashion-model shape.

But it is fascinating. Director-screenwriter Jim McBride (*David Holzman's Diary*, *Glen and Randy*) and co-screenwriter L.M. Kit Carson cared passionately about making *Breathless*—it's not a lowest-common-denominator movie. With its postpunk aesthetic, it is as troubling as the characters are troubled.

Of course, that's not why most people are going to it. They're going for the ultimate tease—the camera peeking down almost (oh really almost *there*) to Richard Gere's genitalia. It is garnering fame as a beefcake movie—a *Newsweek* cover makes Richard Gere the exemplar of a certifiable trend. French actress Valerie Kaprisky makes a perfect complement to this pelvis-twitching, randomly randy male sex idol: a pale, passive, fresh but mysteriously controlled female sexual force. (The fact that they both have magnificent bodies might as well go without saying; so does every model on the shampoo ads. Do they grow them in special tanks out there in the land of sun these days?)

You might think this movie is so retrograde as to put it in some kind of forefront. Bad boy (a cop killer, a thief, a gambler, a chiseler, a moocher) lures good girl (student, property owner and respecter of laws) into the downward spiral of his flight from the forces of order. They savor forbidden love and doomed passion before the future catches up to them. As befits the tradition, the

woman precipitates disaster.

The story is a devoted, even slavish, remake of the original *Breathless*, down to throwaway details and mimicry of the names—Godard's Michel Poiccard has become Monica Poiccard. It also glosses a long American movie tradition of doomed romantic marginal characters in films like *You Only Live Once* and *Bonnie and Clyde*. Ever referential, the film at one point has the principals make love on red velvet in the back of a movie theater where *Gun Crazy* is playing.

The new angle.

There is a new angle here, though—a postmodern stylization to the story's retelling. The familiar, slender plot thread becomes a clothesline on which to hang a gallery's worth of poses. The production design, by Richard Sylbert—a star production designer and the man who gave *Reds* its look—is as arch as the elaborate artificiality of the characters' mannerisms. Their constant sexual flaunting, especially the rambunctious Gere, should be crude, even pornographic. But this version of *Breathless* makes it into a different kind of cheap. These kids are lost in a decaying civilization; they seem less to rebel against it than to succumb blindly, to buy the promise instead of the reality—the picture of the cake instead of the cake.

So where is the cake? This kind of story set up could provoke you to ask that question. That's what Godard managed to do in the original—heightening your sense of discontent and displacement. His shocking use of jumpcuts, improvised handheld camera work, incorporation of accident into the narrative, and deliberately old-fashioned movie techniques like the iris-out—all calling attention to the fact that you were watching a film, a story told by a restlessly critical storyteller—did leave you breathless.

This movie goes to the opposite extreme, using the ultimate in movie retrofashion to create lush

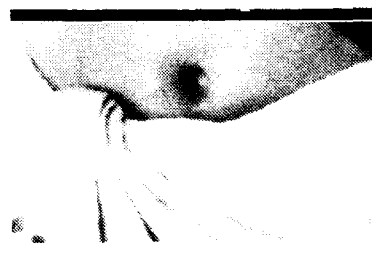
painterly designs, immersing both actors and viewers in a world of color, sound and affect. The cumulative effect is something like having eaten too much pizza.

The new *Breathless* makes style a fetish in itself, not a tool of expression. This is pop art without populist energy. The dialog is heavily pretentious poetry of alienation. (She: "What do you want from me?" He: "Everything." "That's too much." "Well, what do you want from me?" "Something." "That's not enough.") The color schemes are so meticulously worked out that her fingernail polish perfectly matches the telephone she picks up. Symbols are overstated with a vengeance. Take, for instance,



Carol McCullough

These kids are lost in a decaying civilization. They succumb and not rebel—buy the promise and not the reality.



The ultimate tease

the little plastic heart necklace that he gives her, which lights up when she's happy with him and gets broken when she decides to abandon him. There is also Jesse's (Gere) pathetic identification with Jerry Lee Lewis, whose manic style labels him "the Killer" (Jesse has earned that title the hard way). The characters walk through a world of billboards and murals (many of them in L.A.'s Venice), their lives and concerns no more substantial than the image of Botticelli's Venus on rollerskates that appears on a wall in one scene.

Like in *Blade Runner*, the power of production design to assert mood can be striking. Sylbert makes bold use of unnatural color and neon light, for instance. The harsh red-and-blue night world *a la* Las Vegas has its counterpart in the daytime colors of turquoise and pink, which are no more refreshing than jangling night shades. The music plays with you, too, building from ominous ostinatos to a submerging soundboard sound.

The whole production has a hip appeal, and even a romantic poignancy. In this world of percussive fantasy and narcissistic striving, Jesse is the last of a dying breed, the old-fashioned romantic. His hero is the Silver Surfer, a comic book superhero who selflessly stays on Earth to bring human beings to an awareness of the power of love. But the coming generation knows that's too corny for words. "The Silver Surfer's a jerk," says a little kid at the comic book stand. "Only a jerk would stay when he could go." (Get it? Jesse too should go, without waiting to convince Monica to come along.)

But the totalizing production design shrinks the characters down to the size of the landscape, to the flat billboards they parade in front of. They move through a world of advertisements, and they are advertisements for themselves. Worse—their advertisements for themselves are themselves. So even their passion has a mechanical quality, a matching up of mannequins.

When it crossed the sea, *Breathless* also made a leap from one end of the film continuum—Godard's version was crude, highly personal, improvised, irascible—to the other, becoming glossy, engulfing, anonymous. They're two very different kinds of loneliness. Godard once said about making *Breathless*, "What I wanted was to take a conventional story and remake, but differently, everything the cinema had done. I also wanted to give the feeling that the techniques of filmmaking had just been discovered or experienced for the first time." In this version, the many-layered references to pop art derived from exhausted conventions points instead to a finished and jaded sensual universe.

Well, it's dispiriting. That's why it is hard to get really turned on or really indignant over the cheesecake-beefcake stuff. This isn't passion on the critical edge of commercial culture. The vitality of sexual assertion in the face of convention is nowhere in sight. Sex too has become, in *Breathless*, a glossy pose—fit for a *Vanity Fair* ad, a Helmut Newton backdrop, a *Newsweek* cover.

Surplus

Continued from page 6

promised if the media photographed the stored food.

The Congress members and the media people were told they could tour the caves without cameras, but all refused. Oberstar then commented that he had had an easier time touring El Salvador with the press than in getting the press into a U.S. government storage center.

A few days later, Oakar told *In These Times* that the Congress members had "rifled off a series of letters protesting the action."

One letter went to Secretary of Agriculture John R. Block, asking if he is responsible for Beatrice Foods' turnabout on its initial permission to let cameras inside the facility. "We know they were pressured by the Reagan administration," Oakar said.

A second letter went to Beatrice Foods. "We know that they lied about their camera policy," Oakar said. "We have been told anonymously by Inland employees that they were directed to clean up the caves and make it spiffy for cameras."

A third letter went to the House Government Operations Committee asking chairman Jack Brooks to investigate what administration pressure was exerted to keep cameras out. "If there was pressure," said Oakar, "then there was a violation of the law. Twenty-five to 50 percent of the Inland facility's 200 acres is under government contract."

The final letter went to the GAO, Congress' investigative arm, asking for an in-depth study.

The Congress members said they called for the GAO study because they are concerned about the quantity of stored food and the storage conditions. The CCNV recently searched USDA records and issued a report on June 27 on the total available surplus in storage. As of April of this year, the CCNV found records of 1.39 billion pounds of nonfat dry milk, 852.1 million pounds of cheese, 441.2 million pounds of butter and 1.99 billion pounds of rice in USDA storage.

While some of this surplus was distributed earlier this year, the Congress members say that the stream has slowed to a trickle. Meanwhile, the surplus food continues to pile up to such an extent that there is concern about spoilage. Oakar pointed out that surplus dry milk, which was purchased for 90 cents a pound, was now being sold as animal feed at prices 40 or 50 cents cheaper because it was too caked for human use.

"We suspect food at other cities is spoiling, but we can't quite prove it," Oakar said, adding, "thus, the GAO study." According to Oakar, Congress members want to know exactly how much and what kind of commodities are in storage, where it is, what companies are under contract to store it, the value of the food and the manner and length of storage.

A bill calling for release of a "major" portion of the food has passed the House, Oakar said, adding that a Senate version has been bottled up in the Senate Agriculture Committee by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.). Oakar said that if the bill can get out to the Senate floor, passage is likely. She speculated that while President Reagan may not like the bill, congressional pressure on it might be strong enough to keep him from vetoing it.

Oakar also noted that the USDA already has discretionary authority to release surplus food. The USDA has distributed about 50 million pounds of cheese in the last year, but distribution has almost stopped recently. She discounted rumors that dairy producers object to the distribution on grounds of competition.

"We know of four or five dairy associations that have endorsed releasing the food," Oakar said.

On July 4, in the shadow of Kansas City's Liberty Memorial to the dead of World War I, members of the CCNV erected a tent camp, saying they would fast there until the administration releases

"significant" quantities of food. Organizer Mitch Snyder from the CCNV in Washington predicted that the 20 camped there would grow to more than 100 with participants traveling from New York, New Jersey and Washington, D.C., to join. He said the fast will be open ended, with some drinking liquids and others taking only water.

Another CCNV spokesperson commented: "It is ironic and senseless that as farmers go bankrupt in record numbers and millions of other Americans go hungry, our nation's warehouses are bursting at the seams with billions of pounds of surplus commodities.... It is a situation that we can no longer allow to go unchallenged or unchanged."

Drew Mendelson is a reporter for the AFL-CIO affiliated *Labor Beacon*.

Seguel

Continued from page 11

ing. And they want leaders...willing to face the situation and to tell the government what we are telling it in this moment.

Whose idea was it to call a series of national protests?

We held a national congress [of the copper union] at Punta de Tralca (a Catholic Church retreat on the coast relatively safe from government interference) at which we agreed to, among other things, call a national copper strike for May 11.

But many threatening things began to happen. The mining zones were filled with troops, they held many military maneuvers and there were many rumors and threats that they were going to fine the workers and that there would be many dead. So we decided to change the strike into a protest, and we also agreed to continue protesting every month because of the situation in this country.

How many protests and strikes will be called?

As many as necessary. We are trying to save our strength in order to build up a mentality in the Chilean people that you have to say *basta* (enough) once and for all. We are creating a consensus in the people so that they will lose their fear of expressing their discontent.

Why has this movement succeeded in ways that other opposition has failed?

This is the first large movement to rise up in Chile in the past 10 years. [It is inspired by] the dictatorship, the high unemployment—30 percent—the economic situation, the foreign debt, the bankruptcy of Chilean businesses, the medical problems of the workers, the labor laws and the problems of the truck owners, many of whom are in jail because they aren't able to pay their debts [for trucks bought on credit].

Human rights are of primary importance: how they have violated them all these years—the exiles, the disappeared, the tortured; how this country has been sold out gratuitously [to foreign interests]. The inspiration is that this is a people that has been humiliated and violated for 10 years. The people can't defend themselves with violence. Violence engenders more violence, and we are not willing to use it.

A lot of blood has flowed in this country, too much to want it to keep flowing. I reject, all of us reject any kind of violence—completely. Brothers can't keep killing one another. We have to look for a consensus about how to raise up this country.

The first difference in this movement is that this one was called by the Confederation of Copper Workers—representing the most important industry in the country, the one that provides most of our foreign earnings—and the respect people have for that organization. Secondly, we have achieved the unity of the union organizations. They have never been united during all these years. Third, the economic situation in the country is extremely serious, and therefore the people have joined the protest and even abroad they are protesting against the way Chile's rulers have run the economy.

Was it a surprise that the people responded as massively as they did?

I don't think it was a surprise. The people responded to the call by the Copper Workers. They have wanted to protest for a long time. All that was missing was someone to lead the way, someone to have the courage to call the protest. Whoever did it was assured of a lot of support.

The problem is that some ill-intentioned elements might want to lead the movement for their own purposes. The people have realized that our intentions are good, and if the protest today is receiving such clear majority support, it is because we have had our feet well-placed on the ground in calling this.

What has been the role of the traditional political parties?

I am a Christian Democrat. But this movement is not led by any party. We have achieved the consensus of all parties to work in this protest. [The initiative to call the protest] came from us, the labor leaders.

The copper union is mainly led by Christian Democrats and Communists? How did you achieve unity? How long will it last?

There is an evil that is very big—the dictatorship. So we agreed to work together, because we realized that separately nobody could do anything. We are not creating a national union [in the National Workers Command]. There will come a time when this ends, and people will return to their organization. Who knows? We might create a permanent Command in the future, but not for the moment. It has been created only for the protest and to implement what we are seeking, which is the return to democracy.

You were 19 years old at the time of the coup against Allende. What was your personal development between then and now?

It was a rapid development because I lost my youth in a dictatorship. And I learned in that dictatorship how the people had suffered, how the workers had suffered, and I fell in love with and immersed myself in the problems of my fellow citizens. And I dedicated myself to studying union organizing and how I could defend the interests of the workers. I progressed

gradually until I received this post, which I try to execute as well as possible to defend the workers. After I finished high school, I took courses in union organizing.

What did you think at the time of the coup in 1973?

I thought it was ending a Communist left that was leading to a great confrontation between Chileans. So I was happy when the coup happened because I thought they were saving the country. I thought it would be a short military rule and a quick return to democracy. But I then realized—and I deeply regretted—that the military government became a very strong dictatorship and that I would be called upon to lead the protest movement against the military men whose arrival in government once made me happy. I have had many, many friends who have been arrested, tortured and expelled from the country.

What is your image of Allende?

None. For me he was a president, elected democratically, who was killed by those who are presently the dictators of this country. But it didn't give me any lessons. On the contrary, the thousand days of the Popular Unity was a very bitter period for the country. It began well, and ended badly, and in the end it cost Allende his life and our country its democracy.

What is your attitude toward Communism and the government's use of anti-Communism?

The government's anti-Communism is the most denigrating of all. They are showing pictures of Lenin on television all the time, putting Communism in the heads of our youth who don't have the slightest idea about Communism. Their intention is to create hatred of Communism, but the effect is just the opposite.

I'm not in agreement with the organizations that call themselves anti-Communist, because I consider the Communists people with whom you have to work to recover democracy in this country. How far they get depends on how you work with them.

John Dinges, a freelance writer, lived in Chile from 1972-78.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschinot**.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

July 30

Bay Area Radical Therapy Community is sponsoring a West Coast Conference on "The Politics of Therapy and the Therapy of Politics"—bringing together community activists and progressive therapists to share skills and participate in panel discussions, small problem-solving groups and workshops. 9:00 a.m.-7:00 p.m. at McLaren Hall, University of San Francisco (on Golden Gate between Masonic and Parker). For information call or write: Cooperation Corporation, 812 Clayton St., San Francisco, CA 94117. (415) 681-1158. Pre-registration \$10-20, \$10 low income.

CHICAGO, IL

August 4

Physicians for Social Responsibility Chicago Chapter meeting. Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison, Room 1245, Jelke. Thursday, 6:30 p.m. C.M.E. credit—category II. Everyone welcome.

September 30-October 2

First Annual Midwest Blue Collar Tradeswomen's Conference. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Theme: "Women Forging New Frontiers." Designed for women in skilled crafts/blue collar occupations, including construction, mining, manufacturing, mechanical/protective services. Registration: \$25; advanced registration required. For brochures, contact Audrey Denecke, Conference Coordinator, Midwest Women's Center, 53 W. Jackson, #1015, Chicago, IL 60604, (312) 922-8530.

CAMBRIDGE, MA

July 30

"Hard Times and Workers' Lives—Songs, Poems, and Stories of Carrying On and Organiz-

ing" with folksingers (including Deborah Silverstein and Willie Sordell), gospel singers (Priscilla Dupree), storytellers (Warren Griffin) and poets (Vincent Ferrini and Onya Freind). Hastings Square Park, Brookline and Henry Sts., 2:00-5:00 p.m. Free. Info: (617) 492-6259.

ST. PETERSBURG, FL

August 2

Educational program on police and FBI surveillance and harassment of political activists in the Tampa Bay area. The discussion will include first-hand accounts of surveillance, a brief history of surveillance and how to deal with the FBI during questioning. For info: Bob Brister, American Friends Service Committee, 130 19th Ave., SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705. (813) 822-5522.

WILMINGTON, OH

August 6

Hiroshima Day Vigil. To commemorate Hiroshima and protest arms race. Please bring appropriate non-violent signs. Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Gate 1-C, Fairborn. Noon-1:30 p.m. Info: Larry Gara, 21 Faculty Pl., Wilmington, OH 45177. (513) 382-3569.

ROYALTON, VT

August 6

Vermont Festival 83 for Peace, Jobs, Justice and Economic Alternatives. More than 20 workshops on labor and peace issues; unemployment councils, films, musicians. Vermont Law School, 11 a.m.-6 p.m. Hiroshima bombing commemoration 6:30-8:30 p.m. Info: Burlington Peace Coalition, (802) 862-4929 or AFSC/Vermont, (802) 387-5732.

NATIONWIDE

August 6

International Fast for Life. Hiroshima Day. 8 people from 4 countries will begin open-ended fast for nuclear disarmament. Fasters appeal to people, institutions and government to take an immediate and significant action. Fast will end when the momentum of the nuclear arms race is stopped. (415) 982-4637. Fast for Life.

Mad

Continued from page 24

gave no sign of recognition. They had the distant stare common among people who do monotonous assembly line work—similar to the blank expression of people looking at each other from cars stopped at a traffic light.

"What're you doing?" snapped one older woman when Steve reached in front of her.

"I'm with the union and I'm checking to see if you're breathing any mercury."

"Well, get that thing away from me. I don't want to be zapped."

Joan intervened. "Don't even try to talk rational with her. She's always arguing with everyone."

The needle had been half way to the danger point. It looked like widespread mercury poisoning in the plant.

He pulled Joan aside and explained his impressions. She was silent, then said slowly, "I was afraid that's what it was. My sister says I've become a real pain in the neck in the last couple of years. It's like the Mad Hatter, isn't it?"

She was referring to the 19th century, when workers who made hats were known to be irascible characters. It was only later that doctors discovered that the mercury that hatters used damaged the brain and nervous system.

Joan led Steve to another workbench.

"Let me show you some more. Mary Ellen here's got thyroid, just like me. We were on break one day and a couple of us took out bottles of thyroid pills to take. We started talking and five or six other girls said they were taking them, too."

Warner paced in the background, muttering. Steve wondered if Warner himself had ever worked on the shop floor.

They continued walking through the shop, talking with the workers.

"I've only been here six months," said one of the younger looking women, "and I lost one tooth already. And I feel another loosening. My gums hurt."

"Have you worked here all the time?" Steve asked, not seeing any mercury.

"No, I started in the dipping room, where they use mercury the most."

He jotted down a few more notes and moved on to the dipping room, an enclosure separated from the main floor by thin, movable walls and a lowered ceiling. Inside, four women sat at a bench facing a series of spouts that sparkled with the flowing metal. Silver droplets lay scattered across the floor.

Steve held the meter in front of one of the workers. The needle hit the danger point, OSHA's limit. The others were similarly high. He turned to Warner. "You said you'd been taking measurements with your own meter. These are high readings."

"Oh, we take our readings on that table over there," he answered, pointing to a stand near the door.

"Nobody works there!" Steve burst out. "Here's where the exposure is!"

Warner looked blank. "We're not a medical research agency. We're a family-owned firm and we've always treated our people well. I'm sure if it's that bad, OSHA would have been here."

"How would they have known?" Steve said, leading the group out of the shop. As he passed the doorway into the hall, he noticed the needle swerve again. He stopped, confused. There's no smoke here, he thought. On impulse, he lowered the meter to the carpeted floor. The needle moved higher. He scuffed the floor with his shoe and held the meter down. The needle went off the scale.

They were all silent as he led the way through the secretaries' area, the other front offices, and back into the conference room. The needle remained high.

"No wonder I couldn't set it up right," Steve said. "Looks like people come in with mercury on their shoes and it collects in the carpet." He shook his head slowly. "The office is contaminated as bad as the plant."

They returned to the conference room. Steve mapped out what the company would have to do—medical tests, more ventilation, plastic coating for the floor, union involvement in air sampling...a whole program.

"What're you trying to pull, anyway?" Warner asked. "This isn't contract negotiations. That's a lot of money you're talking about."

Joan cut him off. "You've got the money. I know you do. This company's been doing well the last few years." She looked directly at Warner. "You'd better

start agreeing to what he's saying or you're going to have a strike on your hands. We'll call the newspapers, TV, 60 Minutes, everyone. We'll have OSHA on your back every day." She leaned back. "And you'd better believe you're in negotiations."

"I don't have the authority to agree to this," Warner answered.

"Get on the horn to the old man, then," she said. "We're waiting."

Warner left reluctantly, leaving Steve and Joan alone for the first time. Steve started describing the other industrial chemicals—solvents and other metals—that caused symptoms of anxiety and irritability.

As they talked, Steve noticed a foreman come from the shop and walk into Warner's office. The foreman stood in front of Warner's desk for a moment shuffling his feet, as though waiting for instructions.

Steve grabbed the meter and strode into the office just as Warner was hanging up the phone. Warner looked up, scowling, then stopped as he read the expression on Steve's face.

At desk height, the needle rose above the danger level, virtually the highest level in the whole plant. Warner had it worse than anyone.

This incident occurred in Indiana in 1976. This inspection, coupled with a subsequent six-week strike, led to considerable improvements in the plant. ■
Dan MacLeod works in the UAW Health and Safety Department.

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